

Volume 23, Number 2

July 1996

CONTRIBUTIONS TO NEPALESE STUDIES



**Journal of
Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies
Tribhuvan University
Kirtipur, Nepal**

CNAS

Contributions to Nepalese Studies

ISSN: 0376-7574

Editorial Board

Chief Editor: Prem K. Khattry
Managing Editor: Nirmal M. Tuladhar
Editors: Dilli Ram Dahal

Editors: Dhruva Kumar
Drone P. Rajaure
Tek B. Shrestha
Assistant Editor: Damini Vaidya

Editorial Policy

Published twice a year in January and July, *Contributions to Nepalese Studies* publishes articles on Nepalese Studies focused on:

art and archaeology, history, historical-cultural forms; religion; folk studies,

social structure, national integration, ethnic studies, population dynamics, institutional processes, development processes, applied linguistics and sociolinguistic studies;

study of man, environment, development and geo-political setting of the Indus-Brahmaputra regions.

Articles, review articles and short reviews of latest books on Nepal are welcome from both Nepali and foreign contributors. Articles should be original and written in English or Nepali.

The Editorial Board reserves the right to edit, moderate or reject the articles submitted.

The published articles of Nepali contributors are remunerated, but Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies retains the copyright on the articles published. Contributors will receive a complimentary copy of the journal and fifteen copies of offprints.

Opinions expressed in the articles or reviews are the authors' own and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Editorial Board or the publisher.

Subscription

Subscription payment can be made by cheque or draft payable to Research Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, Convertible US\$ A/c No. 01 03 21 40 352 01 at Nabil Bank, Kathmandu, Fax: 977-1-226905. Subscription rates are subject to change without prior notice

Subscription Rates

	Nepal	India	Other countries
Single copy	NRs. 200/-	IRs. 200/-	-
One year	NRs. 375/-	IRs. 375/-	US\$ 50.00
Note: Air-mail postage is included.			

का.प्र.जि.का.अ.का.प.द.नं. ३२-०३०

Contents

	Page
Girl Child Marriage in Nepal: Its Prevalence and Correlates <i>Shyam Thapa</i>	361-375
Family Transitions and the Practice of Brideservice in the Upper Ankhu Khola: A Tamang Case <i>Dilli R. Dahal</i> <i>Tom Fricke</i> <i>Rajendra K. Lama</i>	377-401
Deictic and Non-Deictic Senses of Kin Terms in घोचोलेचा <i>Austin Hale</i> <i>Kedar P. Shrestha</i>	403-422
The Geo-Demographic Context of Population Ageing in Nepal <i>Bhim P. Subedi</i>	423-439
Investigation in Nepalese Female Personality <i>Murari P. Regmi</i>	441-449
Passivization in Nepali <i>Madhav P. Pokharel</i>	451-472
Buddhist Healers in Nepal: Some Observations <i>Angela Dietrich</i>	473-480
Review Articles	
Flawed Precepts and Distorted Interpretations <i>Dhruba Kumar</i>	481-488
Ulrike Kölver and Iswarananda Shresthacarya: <i>A Dictionary of Contemporary Newari:</i> <i>Newari—English</i> <i>E. Austin Hale</i>	489-498

GIRL CHILD MARRIAGE IN NEPAL: ITS PREVALENCE AND CORRELATES

Shyam Thapa

Introduction

Child marriage has existed from time immemorable in Nepal. Until about 25-30 years ago, it was common to hear stories of children as small as 6 or 8 years old having already been married in matches arranged by parents. Growing children were told by their elders that they had already been married. They had no other choice but to accept each other as spouses and begin to cohabit when they came of age. Over time, however, marriages among children under 10 years of age have largely been eradicated. As of 1971, the last time the national census collected data on marriage among children under 10 years of age, only 2.4% of children in the 6-9 age group were reported to have been formally married (CBS 1995:173).

A 1962 law set the minimum marriage ages of 14 years for females and 18 years for males. A later revision changed the minimum ages to 16 and 18 years respectively, with parental consent. Without parental consent, the minimum ages are now 18 for females and 21 for males (Banister and Thapa 1981). The law has most probably helped in increasing the age of marriages. A lack of universal birth and marriage registrations remains, however.

The 1991 national census showed that the average age of marriage for girls is about 18 and for males about 21 (CBS 1995:181). This suggests that a large proportion of female marriages is still taking place under 18 years of age. Nevertheless, significant changes have taken place over the years. Whereas in 1961 nearly 25% of female children in the age group 10-14 were married, as of 1991 it was only about 7% (CBS 1995:173). This implies that over the thirty years period, girl child marriage in the 10-14 years-old population has been reduced by more than twice the 1991 level.

The 7% represents over 82,000 children married before they reach the age of 15. Further the 7% is a national average. It, therefore, conceals both the low and high variations. How prevalent is the girl child marriage in the different parts of Nepal? Second, what are the main socioeconomic and

cultural correlates of the girl child marriage? These two questions are examined in this paper using most recent district-level data.

Age at Marriage and Ethnicity

Age at marriage is generally known to be positively associated with socioeconomic development. Besides development, ethnicity has also been found to be an important factor affecting the timing of family formation and entry into motherhood. Ethnic group identification represents a sub-system within a society and reflects variations in institutional arrangements concerning the "starting" pattern of reproduction. Even in a highly industrialized and urbanized society as the United States, ethnic differentials remain important in all the processes of family formation, including the timing of marriage (Kobrin and Goldscheider 1978).

Similarly, studies on several Asian countries with diverse socioeconomic conditions have found that the ethnicity factor significantly affects the timing of marriage and the time of first birth, independent of socioeconomic factors (Hirschman 1985; Hirschman and Rindfuss 1980, 1982; Rindfuss and Hirschman 1984; Rindfuss, Parnell and Hirschman 1983). Congruent with these findings, the ethnic factor has been found to be a major determinant of the timing of family formation in Nepal as well (Thapa 1989).

The previous research on Nepal focused on individual-level data from the mid-1970s. More recently, Thapa (1996) examined the role of ethnicity in variations in female age of marriage with macro-level data from the 75 districts of Nepal. The analysis, which included female marriages at all ages, showed that ethnicity is the major factor affecting age of marriage in Nepal.

In this paper, we focus on girl child marriage. In many respects, this paper resembles a previous paper by the author (Thapa 1996) which examined age of marriage among all ages. The main hypothesis examined is that the district-level variations in the age of girl child marriage are determined principally by ethnicity, independent of socioeconomic factors. It is surmised, therefore, that the district-level variations are not randomly distributed among sub-populations but differentiated by ethnic characteristics in the districts.

Data and Methodology

Girl child marriage is measured as the percentage of females in the age group 10-14 married as of the time of census. The data are from the 1991 census (CBS 1993).

Ethnic group membership, the main explanatory variable, is defined by self-identification. Although surveys have collected information on

ethnicity, the 1991 census was the first census to collect data on ethnicity for the country.

Nepal's population is an ethnic mosaic, with at least 60 ethnic groups recorded in the census (Thapa 1995a). The 60 groups include those based on the Hindu caste system and religion also. Each may, however, be considered an ethnic group in that it represents a sub-system of institutional arrangements, values and norms. While many of the groups tend to be concentrated in certain ecological regions, several of the groups are scattered throughout the country. Some ethnographic information on many of these groups has been reported by Bista (1972) and Gautam and Thapa-Magar (1994).

The "control variable" in this analysis is the level of development in each district. Development is measured by the "human development index" or HDI. HDI is a measure proposed by the UNDP (1990) which comprises three components: expectation of life at birth (longevity), literacy (knowledge), and a modified measure of per capita income (resource access). The index values for each dimension are expressed in terms of the relative distances between the lowest and highest observed values on each indicator, ranging from 0 to 1.

The values for each of the three components and the composite index (HDI) for the 75 districts are given in Thapa (1995b). HDI is highly correlated with many other indicators of socioeconomic development, such as communication, roads, urbanization, health services utilization, and population growth (Thapa 1995b). This implies, therefore, that the HDI is also a proxy for many other dimensions of development.

The main techniques of data analysis used are correlation coefficients and multiple regression. The unit of analysis is district, not individuals. In this sense, it is "ecological" research.

Results

Table 1 presents prevalence of girl child marriage among 10-14 years-old females in the 75 districts of Nepal. In 37 districts the prevalence of girls married is low, less than 5%. In another 19 districts it ranges from 5% to 7%. In contrast, in seven districts the marriages range from 11% to 20%. Furthermore, in four districts the percentage is as high as 27%. Girl child marriage thus is especially high in 11 of the 75 districts. These 11 districts, representing 26% of the total population of Nepal, lie in the Terai region.

**Table 1: Percentage of Girls Married among Population
10-14 Years of Age, 75 Districts, Nepal, 1991**

District	%	District	%
Terhathum	1.3	Darchula	5.0
Dhankuta	1.4	Nuwakot	5.0
Taplejung	1.7	Rukum	5.1
Panchthar	1.7	Sindhupalchok	5.2
Ilam	1.9	Tanahu	5.3
Sankhuwasabha	1.9	Achham	5.4
Mustang	2.0	Kanchanpur	5.5
Kathmandu	2.2	Doti	5.6
Udayapur	2.3	Dailekh	5.8
Sindhuli	2.3	Humla	5.8
Bhojpur	2.3	Mugu	5.9
Lalitpur	2.4	Kailali	6.0
Okhaldhunga	2.4	Pyuthan	6.2
Jhapa	2.4	Dhading	6.2
Khotang	2.5	Bajhang	6.4
Ramechhap	2.6	Arghakhanchi	6.6
Solukhumbu	2.8	Palpa	6.7
Dolpa	3.0	Baitadi	6.9
Rolpa	3.1	Baglung	7.0
Bhaktapur	3.1	Dadeldhura	7.2
Dolakha	3.2	Bardiya	7.4
Gorkha	3.2	Jajarkot	7.8
Manang	3.2	Myagdi	8.6
Morang	3.3	Kalikot	9.0
Sunsari	3.4	Jumla	9.9
Salyan	3.4	Sarlahi	10.1
Surkhet	3.4	Saptari	11.9
Parbat	3.5	Nawalparasi	12.0
Makwanpur	3.7	Banke	13.4
Lamjung	3.8	Mahottari	13.8
Gulmi	3.9	Dhanusa	14.8
Dang	4.0	Siraha	19.2
Kaski	4.2	Rautahat	19.9
Syangja	4.3	Rupandehi	20.9
Kavrepalanchok	4.3	Bara	21.6
Bajura	4.7	Parsa	26.3
Rasuwa	4.8	Kapilbastu	26.6
Chitawan	5.0	All Nepal	7.3

Note: The districts are arranged in ascending order according to the percentages (with more exact values than shown in the table).
Source: CBS (1993).

Table 2 presents the correlation coefficients between the various ethnic groups and the prevalence of girl child marriage in the 75 districts. In the table two types of correlations are presented. The first column shows simple correlation or Pearson r , which is a linear correlation between each ethnic group and the prevalence of girl child marriage. The second column, on the other hand, refers to the linear correlation after controlling for the possible effects of development (that is, the human development index). Thus while the first column shows the degree of "gross" association, the second column shows the degree of "net" association between each ethnic group and girl child marriage. The comparison between the two correlation values, therefore, indicates the effect of the development factor on the prevalence of girl child marriage. In the table, the groups are arranged in four blocks according to the direction and strength of the simple correlation values.

Table 2: Correlation Coefficient (r) between Ethnic Groups and Girl Child Marriage, Nepal, 1991

Ethnic Group	Correlation Coefficient	
	Simple	Partial ⁺
Chamar	.884**	.883**
Kurmi	.847**	.844**
Muslim	.820**	.826**
Kumhar	.820**	.816**
Dhobi	.812**	.816**
Kayastha	.760**	.758**
Bania	.758**	.765**
Other in Terai	.757**	.774**
Teli	.719**	.722**
Yadav/Ahir	.709**	.707**
Mallah	.683**	.685**
Sudhi/Kalwar	.673**	.674**
Dhusadh	.647**	.645**
Kanu	.631**	.629**
Terai Bahun	.625**	.625**
Kushwha	.608**	.609**
Rajput	.585**	.592**
Kewat	.499**	.508**
Dhanuk	.450**	.452**
Musahar	.433**	.445**
Rajbhar	.427**	.439**
Haluwai	.350*	.364*
Khatway	.290*	.293*
Marwadi	.287*	.422*

Ethnic Group	Correlation Coefficient	
	Simple	Partial ⁺
Damai	-.379**	-.465**
Other in Hill	-.329*	-.341*
Chhetri	-.309*	-.493**
Rai	-.297*	-.277*
Hill Bahun	-.292*	-.264*
Tharu	.223	.214
Shikh	.130	.165
Kumal	.013	.034
Bote	.006	.034
Sarki	-.257	-.284
Limbu	-.236	-.213
Newar	-.230	-.195
Sunuwar	-.223	-.213
Sherpa	-.216	-.216
Tamang	-.201	-.199
Gurung	-.200	-.186
Other in Mountain	-.188	-.171
Sanyasi	-.187	-.234
Bhote	-.180	-.179
Raute	-.173	-.242
Kami	-.154	-.320
Majhi	-.138	-.126
Magar	-.131	-.121
Lepcha	-.124	-.134
Dhimal	-.106	-.075
Rajbanshi	-.103	-.076
Thakali	-.095	-.092
Thami	-.094	-.087
Gangain	-.078	-.049
Gaine	-.076	-.060
Chepeng	-.068	-.059
Jirel	-.067	-.060
Raji	-.053	-.085
Wadi	-.037	-.098
Churoute	-.032	.011
Darai	-.023	.004
Bengali	-.016	.029
Thakuri	-.008	-.149
Danuwar	-.004	-.004

** P<.001; * P<.01

⁺ Refers to beta coefficients controlling for the effect of the level of development (Human Development Index).

Note: The ethnic groups are listed in the table in four blocks according to the strength and direction of correlation coefficient values.

Three main findings emerge from the results. First, of the several groups, 24 groups are significantly and positively associated with higher prevalence of girl child marriage at the district level. These groups represent 23.7% of the total population. Several of these groups have correlation ranging between 0.61 and 0.88.

Five groups, representing 34.8% of the total population, are negatively correlated with girl child marriage. Compared to the groups with positive correlation (first block), these groups generally have weak (ranging between -.29 and -.38) but significant correlation.

Second, 34 groups are not significantly correlated with girl child marriage. This means the district-level girl child marriage does not vary significantly, regardless of the districts these groups live in. The 34 groups with no statistically significant association with girl child marriage represent the largest percentage, 41.4%, of the total population.

Third and most important, the level of development is not the principle factor in producing variations in district-level prevalence of girl child marriage. Even after controlling for the effects of the level of development, most of the correlation values remain largely intact, as indicated by the partial correlations. Development affects the degree of association in a significant way for only few groups: Marwadi, Dami, Chhetri, and Hill Bahun. In the vast majority of the cases, ethnicity has an independent strong association with the district-level variation in girl child marriage.

In further analysis, we pooled the data on ethnic groups that (a) are significantly (at $p < .01$) associated with the prevalence of girl child marriage and (b) have the same direction of relationship, and then carried out multiple regression analyses in order to assess the magnitude or strength of the relationship between the prevalence of girl child marriage and ethnicity. The main advantage of doing so is to reduce the number of regressions and, at the same time, obtain robust estimates. The results are presented in Table 3.

**Table 3: Regression Results of the Effects
of Ethnicity and Development on Girl Child Marriage,
Nepal, 1991: District-Level Results**

Variable	Beta Coefficient	R ²	F
Development	-.192*		
Twenty-four ethnic groups ⁺	.819**		
		.700	84.00**
Development	-.282*		
Five ethnic groups ⁺⁺	-.581**		
		.356	19.90**
Development	-.188*		
Twenty-four ethnic groups ⁺	.834**		
Five ethnic groups ⁺⁺	.021		
		.700	55.28**

Note: Development refers to the Human Development Index (HDI), which comprises three development components: expectation of life at birth, literacy, and resource access. For details, see Thapa (1995b).

⁺ As listed in the first block of Table 2. ⁺⁺ As listed in the second block of Table 2.

** P<.001; *P<.01

The 24 ethnic groups and the development variable explain 70% of the district-level variation in the prevalence of girl child marriage (as indicated by the results in the first panel of the table). The development variable is also statistically significant, implying that the level of a district's development is associated with a lower prevalence of girl child marriage. However, the level of development has only a secondary effect; ethnicity has the principle effect.

The results in the second panel of the table indicate that the five ethnic groups are negatively associated with the prevalence of girl child marriage. Further, the level of development also has an independent significant effect. The total variance explained by the two variables, development and ethnicity, is only 35.6%.

Finally, the results in the bottom panel of the table include both the ethnic sub-groups (positively as well as negatively related ethnic groups to the prevalence of girl child marriage) and the development variable in a single multivariate equation model. The three variables explain 70% of the total district-level variations in the prevalence of girl child marriage. The

addition of the five ethnic groups as another independent variable in the model did not add to the proportion of the variance already explained by the two variables in the first equation model.

The 24 ethnic groups thus remain the most important in explaining higher prevalence of girl child marriage. The five ethnic groups are not independently associated, suggesting that their effects in decreasing the prevalence of girl child marriage are not significant. The 24 ethnic groups are the primary source for the prevalence of girl child marriage. The level of development has an independent, but relatively weak, association with the district-level prevalence of girl child marriage. The results confirm that ethnicity is the principle factor in determining the district-level variations in the prevalence girl child marriage in Nepal.

Discussion and Conclusion

Nepal's population is an ethnic mosaic. The 1991 census provided, for the first time, data on ethnic groups in the country. The data afford the opportunity to analyze the role of the ethnic factor in socioeconomic development as well as marital and reproductive patterns at the aggregate, district level in Nepal. This research sought to examine the role of the ethnic factor in girl child marriage.

The analysis found that the prevalence of girl child marriage in the 75 districts in Nepal is closely related to ethnic group membership. Twenty-four ethnic groups, representing nearly 24% of the total population of the country, are positively associated with higher prevalence of girl child marriage. The level of socioeconomic development also influences the prevalence of girl child marriage, but this has only a secondary effect. These results are similar to those referring to female age at marriage for all age groups (Thapa 1996).

The 24 ethnic groups are mostly concentrated in the Terai ecological region, where the cultural norms and practices are heavily influenced by the culture of north India (Bista 1972; Gautam and Thapa-Magar 1994; Thapa 1989). In contrast to other groups, especially in the Mountain region, the women belonging to the Terai groups are generally confined to farming; they exercise considerably less control over the economic resources and household decision-making. Women are typically considered as an economic burden. Premarital courtship or marriage by consent are generally not accepted. Marriages are usually arranged by parents. The patriarch generally assumes the full authority.

Interviews with girls and women in Siraha, a district with a high prevalence of girl child marriage, suggest that there are social and economic pressures underlying girl child marriage (Appendix). The prevalence of girl

child marriage is thus closely tied to values, norms and institutional arrangements specific to certain ethnic groups.

Since changes in normative and institutional practices are often a slow process, it is not surprising that the mean age at marriage (female) has increased only slowly over the decades, from about 15 years in 1961 to 18 years in 1991 (CBS 1995:181). Clearly, significant increases in age at marriage is a colossal process. Due to weak implementation and monitoring systems, the enforcement of the legal age at marriage (for females, 16 with parental consent and 18 without) remains difficult. As indicated by the census data, marriages below the legal age tend to occur frequently in Nepal.

The enhancement of women's status by raising age at marriage through legal means will remain a difficult task unless strong implementation and monitoring systems are developed in the Nepalese context. Multi-sectoral approaches such as increasing female literacy, eliminating legal discrimination against property rights, encouraging non-agricultural employment for women, and raising social awareness may be some of the effective ways to bring about normative and structural, as well as institutional, changes at the societal level.

Unless such inputs are introduced on a massive scale, the results of this study clearly suggest that a mere linear improvement in the level of socioeconomic development cannot be expected to significantly reduce the prevalence of girl child marriage in Nepal. Ethnic institutions and social networks remain key determinants. The prevalence of girl child marriage may be reduced considerably only when the legal, social and economic programs are able to affect and mobilize the vast majority of the ethnic groups in the country.

The World Summit for Children held at the United Nations in New York reaffirmed the collective commitments of all the member nations to improve the social, economic and health conditions of male and female children. There has thus been increasing voice for children's rights. Nepal has joined many other nations in this global awakening.

Age at marriage is an internationally regarded indicator of women's status (Safilios-Rothschild 1986). Increases in age at marriage also mean minimizing first births to teenage mothers, which is known to carry significantly higher risk to the mother and child than when children are born to a mother after the age of 18 (Hobcraft 1987).

The saying, "think globally and act locally" aptly applies in the case of child marriages. The global awakening must be translated into action. Nepal's "National Programme of Action for Children and Development for the 1990s" (NPC 1991) fails to recognize the prevalence of child marriage and possible policy and programmatic approaches to combatting it. The

practice of marrying too young is a social evil and can be controlled only when confronted as such. Collective efforts must, therefore, be made by the public policy-making and implementing agencies, non-governmental pressure groups, and above all, community watch groups to reach the goal of eradicating child marriage in Nepal. The social environment would change faster if deliberate and strategic attempts were applied to it.

APPENDIX

Micro-Level Perspectives on Child Marriage in Siraha District

In March 1996, I visited a few villages in Siraha district in an attempt to explore some of the reasons underlying the high prevalence of girl child marriages. Siraha is the least developed district among the five Terai districts in the eastern region (Thapa 1995b) and has a high prevalence of child marriage (Table 1).

The elders acknowledged that girls marry very young (ideally around 12) in their villages but said that things are slowly changing. "If we waited too long we can't find boys for our daughters," was the common comment made by many elders. "Unlike in the hills and mountains, we marry our children while they are still young," said a jubilant family on the way home after doing the shopping for their son's marriage. I inquired whether they were aware that the law prescribes that a girl should not be married before reaching the age of 16. "That kind of law does not apply to our people," the mother of the family responded laughingly.

I asked a group of women (mostly around 20 years old) in a literacy evening class about their opinion as to why the girls in their villages marry in the early teens. "By the time we reach 10 or so (before puberty) our parents start to worry about our marriage until we are married," one woman commented. "What happens if a girl waits till she is a bit older?" I asked. "Our parents can't find boys if we wait too long. Boys also don't like mature girls to marry," some said. "We can't question our parents," still others said. "That's the way it has been done by our forefathers. We don't need to have any special reason for getting married early. That is just the way it is," some observed smilingly. Further probing with them and others revealed some important reasons, however.

One of the most important ones appeared to be economic. The older and more educated the boys, the more costly the marriage. Dowry in the form of both cash and kind are common in many of the communities. "It is cheaper to marry while our daughters are still young, because we don't have to pay too much to the groom," some elders commented. The older the boy, the more likely he is to be educated and have a job. And this means the groom's family can demand more dowry. This also implies that families from particularly poor economic backgrounds are more likely to engage in child marriages. In consideration of pure economics, "sometimes parents agree to give their daughters even at a very tender age," commented a health educator.

Another reason related to parental perception of obligations. The parents want to fulfill their responsibilities early on and free themselves from any continuing anxiety. A teacher commented that the villagers consider a girl in the family as a "family object" to be given away to another family; therefore, the earlier the better, and cheaper, too.

Related to this is also the fear of "things getting out of hand." "Some parents fear elopement and hence social stigmatization if grown-up girls are left unmarried at home," said a social worker. "It will be a life-long remorse for the parents if that should happen." They will be looked down upon by others as "irresponsible and bad" parents. There is a related kind of community pressure to have the girls married by the time they reach menarche: "If grown-up girls are left unmarried, the neighbors grow skeptical and suspect there might be something wrong with the girl or the family," commented the health educator. Clearly, there is interplay of economic and sociocultural factors behind the early age of girl child marriages.

Acknowledgements

The author gratefully acknowledges the support provided by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) through Family Health International (FHI). The interpretation of the data and views expressed are solely those of the author; they do not necessarily represent the views of USAID, FHI, or the author's organizational affiliation.

References

- Banister, Judith and Shyam Thapa. 1981. *The Population Dynamics of Nepal*. Papers of the East-West Population Institute, No. 78. Honolulu, Hawaii: East-West Center.
- Bista, Dor Bahadur. 1972. *People of Nepal* (Second Edition). Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandar.
- CBS. 1993. *Population Census 1991: Social and Economic Characteristics Tables* (Vol 1, Part XI). Kathmandu: Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS).
- CBS. 1995. *Population Monograph of Nepal*. Kathmandu: Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS).
- Gautam, Rajesh and Asoke K. Thapa-Magar. 1994. *Tribal Ethnography of Nepal* (2 volumes). Delhi: Book Faith India.

- Hirschman, Charles. 1985. "Premarital Socioeconomic Roles and the Timing of Family Formation: A Comparative Study of Five Asian Societies." *Demography* 22(1):35-59.
- Hirschman, Charles and Ronald Rindfuss. 1980. "Social, Cultural and Economic Determinants of Age at Birth of First Child in Peninsular Malaysia." *Population Studies* 34:507-518.
- Hirschman, Charles and Ronald Rindfuss. 1982. "The Sequence and Timing of Family Formation Events in Asia." *American Sociological Review* 47(5):660-680.
- Hobcraft, John N. 1987. "Does Family Planning Save Children's Lives?" Technical Background Paper Prepared for the International Conference on Better Health for Women and Children Through Family Planning. Nairobi, Kenya.
- Kobrin, Frances E. and Calvin Goldscheider. 1978. *The Ethnic Factor in Family Structure and Mobility*. Cambridge, MA: Ballinger Publishing Co.
- NPC. 1991. *National Programme of Action for Children and Development for the 1990s*. Kathmandu: National Planning Commission (NPC).
- Rindfuss, Ronald and Charles Hirschman. 1984. "The Timing of Family Formation: Structural and Societal Factors in the Asian Context." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 46:205-244.
- Rindfuss, Ronald, Allen Parnell, and Charles Hirschman. 1983. "The Timing of Entry into Motherhood in Asia: A Comparative Perspective." *Population Studies* 37:253-272.
- Safilios-Rothschild, Constantina. 1986. *Socio-economic Indicators of Women's Status in Developing Countries, 1970-1980*. New York: The Population Council.
- Thapa, Shyam. 1996. "Timing of Family Formation in Ethnic Mosaic Nepal: A District-Level Analysis." Paper submitted for publication.

Thapa, Shyam. 1995a. "Human Development and the Ethnic Population Sub-groups in the 75 Districts in Nepal." *Contributions to Nepalese Studies* 22(2):181-192.

Thapa, Shyam. 1995b. "The Human Development Index: A Portrait of the 75 Districts in Nepal." *Asia-Pacific Population Journal* 10(2):3-14.

Thapa, Shyam. 1989. "The Ethnic Factor in the Timing of Family Formation in Nepal." *Asia-Pacific Population Journal* 4(1):3-34.

UNDP. 1990. *Human Development Report 1990*. New York: Oxford University Press.

FAMILY TRANSITIONS AND THE PRACTICE OF BRIDESERVICE IN THE UPPER ANKHU KHOLA: A TAMANG CASE¹

Dilli R. Dahal
Tribhuvan University

Tom Fricke
Rajendra K. Lama
University of Michigan

To any long term resident of the country, the fact of striking social change, both-planned and unplanned, in Nepal is as obvious as a drive through the Kathmandu Valley or a walk through nearly any village. New roads, the extension of electric power, the building of factories and schools are the concrete manifestations of the Nepali government's development efforts since the end of the Rana era. Striking as these changes are, equally pervasive transformations have come to characterize the lives of Nepali people and these, too, are easy to discover with a minimum of questioning. One finds increased participation in wage labor work and in the mobility of village residents as they take advantage of new opportunities in the labor market, for example. All of these trends have been widely documented for Nepal at both community and national levels (Hitchcock 1963; Macfarlane 1976; Dahal 1983; Fricke, Thornton, and Dahal 1990; Gurung 1989; Sharma 1989).

Less evident are the implications of these kinds of change for the relations between people and the social networks by which Nepalis have historically organized their lives. Increased schooling, certain forms of wage labor participation, and physical mobility are sometimes uncritically taken to be universal social goods. We have no quarrel with this. Yet, these new activities are likely to have profound impacts on the historical practices which have proven adaptive for Nepali communities located in some of the world's toughest environments. Identifying and understanding these impacts are an essential element of sound development planning.

This task speaks to the frequent tension one finds in Nepal between the development and scholarly communities. Development workers are often frustrated by the social scientist's concern with apparently arid theories and arcane analyses. Social scientists, for their part, are often needlessly provoking in their failure to draw out the practical implications of their work.

In this paper, we try to bridge this gap through a theory-driven analysis of change in family-organized cooperative behaviors among the Tamang of a single Nepali village. We focus on the practice of husbands providing labor services to their wives' families after marriage. Such services have historically characterized a wide range of distinct ethnic groups in the Himalaya, notably but not solely those classed as Tibeto-Burman (Toffin 1986; Campbell 1994; Acharya and Bennett 1981). As important components of social support networks, their transformation in response to the social changes mentioned above is an element of the future well-being of Nepal's people. Our analysis begins with the social theory that draws attention to these processes and relationships but quickly moves into the empirical case of Timling in the upper Ankhu Khola. We discuss some of the implications of this analysis in the concluding remarks.

Theoretical Considerations

Among anthropologists few insights have achieved such canonical status as that which links marriage structure to other dimensions of social life. Marriage in most societies is seen as a singular life course transition with implications for subsequent experience and family relationships. Classic anthropological treatments of these implications have tended to focus on the structural correlates of marriage systems. These figure in typologies which define whole societies in terms of the content of obligations associated with marriage.

Levi-Strauss (1969) concentrated on the macro-patterns of reciprocal exchanges; Leach (1961) and Dumont (1983) on the hierarchical implications; and, more recently, Collier (1988) on the intersection of marriage, politics, and production.

The tradition of comparative family sociology and demography, on the other hand, has tended to ignore the structure of obligation between groups joined by marriage to focus on individual life course transitions and the structure of relationships among lineally connected kin. Studies in this tradition are likely to concentrate on obligations between generations and to characterize societies along a continuum from those in which most individual activities are familially organized to those in which familial organization is more limited (Goode 1970; Caldwell 1982; Thornton and

Fricke 1982; Thornton and Lin 1994). Even where practitioners of this tradition note the content of interfamilial obligations, such details are secondary to their focus on individual transitions. Thus, Caldwell and his colleagues provide striking evidence for changes in the practice of cross-cousin marriage and bridewealth in South India but fail to pursue the implications of these changes for the structure of South Indian alliance patterns (Caldwell, Reddy, and Caldwell 1988). Goode's treatment of brideservice (which he calls "groom-service") and decline in various forms of cousin marriage are similarly couched in a discussion of increased individual autonomy (1970: 167, 213, 329).

Recent developments in social theory argue for an approach to social processes which gives attention to both structure and individual agency. They suggest a reconfiguring of classic problems in the study of kinship and marriage which takes action as embedded within multiple contextual levels that give meaning and inspire strategy for social actors (MacIntyre 1981; Ortner 1984; Alexander 1988). While earlier treatments of family processes from this perspective have not addressed the issue of change, they nevertheless suggest a need to focus on the mechanisms by which larger structural relationships are reproduced across time (Bourdieu 1976). By extension, they suggest that one of the keys to understanding social transformation is in the differential experience and social position of individual actors themselves.

This implies attention to both contemporary context and to the changing contexts of individual experience through time. In practice, variation in behaviors of interest--in this case brideservice--are viewed as outcomes of a temporal sequence of antecedent environments and experiences throughout a single person's life course (see, for example, Alter 1988; Thornton and Lin 1994). We have used such a framework giving attention to structure and experience to explore variation in a number of dimensions associated with family and kin processes in cross-cousin marriage systems. Past analyses have examined marriage strategies in the reproduction of hierarchy (Fricke 1990) and the timing of marriage and childbirth (Dahal, Fricke, and Thornton 1993; Fricke and Teachman 1993; Fricke 1995a).

Here, our substantive focus is on variation in the practice of brideservice obligations within a population characterized by a shared ethos of reciprocity. We directly examine the issue of individual agency within a single structural environment by analyzing changing familial and individual relationships, changing marriage processes, and their implications for brideservice. In doing so, we test in an alliance setting the effects of variables widely shown to affect participation in spouse choice and kin marriage on subsequent interfamilial relationships.

Our data, described below, include ethnographic and survey material gathered in different field periods from 1987-88, 1991, and 1993 for the Tamang Family Research Project (TFRP).

These data permit direct exploration of the relative impact of family and individual experiences on interfamilial relationships in the Tamang and Ghale community of Timling, in which the alliance components of marriage are explicitly recognized.

Tamang Family and Social Organization

The Tamang are a Tibeto-Burmese language speaking ethnic group inhabiting the mountainous territory around Nepal's Kathmandu Valley. Thought to be Nepal's single largest non-Hindu ethnic group, they share alliance forms of organization with the large number of other Tibeto-Burmese language speaking groups in that country.² Although themselves often divided into three dialect areas by ethnographers, nearly all Tamang share common traditions of ancestral migration from Tibet, bilateral cross-cousin marriage preferences, and the practice of Tibetan forms of Buddhism.

The Tamang are an excellent group within which to explore the issues raised above. Their organization overlaps key elements of those societies variously described as having a family mode of production or a family mode of organization (Caldwell 1982; Macfarlane 1986; Thornton and Fricke 1987). Household economies have, in the past, been primarily agro-pastoral and subsistence oriented. In spite of well-developed systems of labor exchange, their domestic units were the core units of production, consumption, and reproduction in which children were seen to confer economic advantages for the whole household. To this extent, they resemble general models for family organized societies (Caldwell 1982; Macfarlane 1986; Thornton and Fricke 1987).

Certain characteristics, however, distinguish the Tamang from other societies within these models. Consistent with the anthropological models for alliance societies cited above, Tamang marriage has historically united families in enduring networks of cooperation involving the exchange of goods, labor, and services. Thus, during earlier fieldwork in Timling, a woman expressly mentioned the value of children in tying households together through marriage (Fricke 1994:183). Kin terms and majority practice stressed bilateral cross-cousin marriage as the preferred way to replicate beneficial links between families and patriline across generations. In our study areas, a mother's brother was spoken of as having a "right"³ to his sister's daughter for his son, although it was of course possible that parents may not always honor that right. While the Tamang do not pay other than small, ritually significant amounts of bridewealth,⁴ some of the

benefits of marriage for a woman's family came from the practice of brideservice. Such labor was provided on the demand of a woman's family, a process made easier by the relatively high levels of village endogamy.

In spite of the highly familial character of marriage among the Tamang, all ethnographies report a range of marriage options which included strict arrangement by seniors and varying participation by the spouses themselves (Höfer 1969; Holmberg 1989; Fricke 1994). Marriages contracted solely by spouses were approved of if they did not conflict with the already expressed intentions of household seniors; indeed, they were often tacitly agreed to by sets of parents who wished to reduce the expense of marriage. Our informants also saw them as a likely outcome of young people meeting "on the road" and one 62 year old man reported that in the past women did not travel "without the company of men from their own families." Furthermore, our informants in Timling agreed that, while arranged marriages were more likely to reflect the specific interests of parents, marriages contracted by spouses were not necessarily a bar to the culturally expected labor exchanges between families.

As with most areas in Nepal (Hitchcock 1963; Dahal 1983; Ahearn 1994), Tamang communities have undergone a series of changes in this century. Central among them is the increasing monetization of their economies as people combine wage labor with longstanding local subsistence activities (Fricke, Thornton, and Dahal 1990; Fricke 1994). These processes of monetization draw Tamang from their rural communities--many of them without roads, electricity, or piped water--into the urban environments of Kathmandu and cities in northern India. One of our informants spoke of how when he was young, "Calcutta was only a name," and contrasted it to the present when many young people had been to that and other cities (Fricke 1994). Similar processes have increased young people's autonomy in many societies and we expect them to do so for the Tamang. But because the Tamang social context explicitly ties marriage to organization beyond the individual family, we expect family, individual, and interfamilial characteristics to be implicated in these changes.

Timling and the Nature of Brideservice

Data for these analyses come from a western Tamang community at the headwaters of the Ankhu Khola in north central Nepal. Timling, at the time of our 1987-88 census, numbered 142 households and lay some five to six days walk from the roadhead at the nearest market town of Trisuli Bazaar. For nearly every household in Timling, local subsistence pursuits dominate the economy; nevertheless, the last 30 years has increasingly

exposed the population to seasonal wage labor opportunities in portering and road construction. Even women have been involved in these activities at high levels; for some cohorts their wage work equals the involvement of men.

The general features of Timling's adaptation have undergone similar changes. Village political relations involving whole patriline, for example, were historically organized through marriage, but the extent of patriline bounds and those included in obligation networks has undergone decline (Fricke 1995a, 1995b). Access to land in Timling continues to be the primary source of wealth and relative advantage--young men earn money to invest in land for their households. While in other areas (Fricke, Thornton, and Dahal 1990), one finds cases of men selling land to invest in businesses of their own, this is virtually impossible and unheard of in Timling. The wagework we report for Timling women is nearly all seasonally available road construction and portering, rather than year-round factory work as can be found elsewhere. Groups of young people who leave the village for travel or in search of work are likely to form around a core of related people in Timling and to include peers who are potential spouses from the same village. Groups from Timling tend to grow as they pass through villages further along the trail and these travelling groups as well as the distant worksites are more likely to contain marriageable non-kin than the initial group. Finally, the contrast between home community and urban Kathmandu is huge for Timling--many days walk from the nearest market, roads, and electricity. Some young women from Timling have begun to express a desire to live in the excitement of Kathmandu rather than their natal village.

Marriage continues to unite families in Timling; the advantages come in cooperative labor between families who actively work in each other's fields, share herding, and offer support in the form of land use. While the political uses of marriage have declined since the 1950's and 1960's, these other practical advantages continue. Marriages are expected to involve individuals and their closest kin in relationships of specific obligation throughout the life of the union. The key obligations established or ratified by any single Timling marriage involve a central wife-receiver and those classified as his wife's fathers and his wife's brothers. This is an obligation of debt entered into by virtue of having taken a woman from their household and, by extension, from their patriline. Wife-receivers are expected to provide labor and services throughout the seasonal round as well as at specified ritual occasions, most dramatically at the funerals of members of their wife-giving households. Of course, these primary units of relationship do not exist in isolation. Nearly every wife-receiver will in turn have a wife-receiver

beholden to him if he has consanguineal kin classified as sister or a daughter.

That marriage structures a variety of real labor exchanges and other cooperative efforts in Timling is revealed by the behavioral evidence we gathered in 1987-88 fieldwork. Among the questions asked in our 1987-88 fieldwork to the 184 ever-married women of Timling was whether or not their husbands provided free labor to their natal families in the first year after marriage. A majority (69%) reported that they had. (Our translation of the actual question asked of all ever-married women is: Did your (first) husband work for your family without pay after your (first) marriage?)

This labor can include a wide range of activities from chopping and hauling firewood or hauling loads to the full complement of agricultural and pastoral tasks. In the past, one powerful village leader was able to use affinal labor in the salt trade with Tibet (Fricke 1990). Others used it to clear new arable land from the forest. In another task we discovered that of 55 householders who built their own dwellings in Timling, 67% reported receiving help from their affinal kin and only a quarter of these reported payment in cash. Finally, when we gathered lists of names of people living in other households who had helped in the agricultural harvests of the previous 12 months, 25% of the first three names mentioned were of affinal kin. An additional 35% of these names were of consanguineally related women, a majority of whom were already married and resident in their husband's households and, therefore, representing in some sense a contribution from affinal families (Fricke, Dahal, Thornton, Axinn, and Rimal 1991).

The enduring normative force of affinal obligations was revealed in numerous taped interviews with Timling informants during 1991 and 1993 field periods. One 41 year old Tamang man was emphatic about the structure of obligation:

TF: And in Timling, is there the custom where the new husband has to give the wife's family help without payment?

RT: Yes that help is given... Sometimes you help with harvesting potatoes; other times it's not necessary; sometimes you help carrying firewood... sometimes you help grinding flour...

TF: Yes, but why does a husband have to give most?

RT: Why? Because he's married to your clan woman, of course! He's a wife-taker.... [I]f you take my daughter then I call for you; and if you

take his daughter then he calls for you. [Interview: T. Fricke and RT, Timling, 1991]

Similar sentiments were expressed in other taped interviews from a variety of informants in Timling as they reflected on the qualities of a good husband and the causes for divorce:

BT: What sorts of habits and character should a boy have for a good marriage?

PJ: He should do good work for his in-laws--for his mother- and father-in-law and for his wife's younger sisters. He should do good work for his own family. If he goes outside the area for wage work, he should bring back gifts such as clothing and fine things. By doing this, people are made happy. [Interview: B. Tamang and 34 year old woman informant, Timling, 1993]

LL: When you were married as husband and wife, whenever some big tasks needed to be done at your [father's] house, your husband would come over and help wouldn't he? Wouldn't he come by to help?

SR: Well, one of the reasons we separated is because he wouldn't do such work. That's how it goes. If he doesn't do work for your parents, then they'll definitely want to split you up. He didn't come around. [Interview: L. Lama and 39 year old woman informant, Timling, 1993]

These transcripts suggest a continuing ethic of obligation in Timling even as the last excerpt simultaneously suggests that individual husbands fulfill their obligation to varying degrees.

Data, Expectations, Variables

Our quantitative analyses focus on data for the first marriages of 184 ever-married women in Timling. These data were gathered by a fieldstaff including 16 Nepali interviewers who had undergone both classroom and field training sessions conducted by senior project staff. The standardized questionnaires were designed with a life course perspective in mind and focussed on the content and timing of pre-marital events and the marriage process itself. Response rates were 100% for all respondents resident in the villages during the data collection period. For those who could not be met, information was gathered through proxy interviews with near kin.⁵

Theoretical approaches attempting to link structure and agency suggest that the dispositions of individual actors are a product of temporal sequences

of experience and environment. Analysis of later events of experiences in a person's life requires that the characteristics of key early events, particularly those related to issues of personal autonomy and exposure to novel ideologies or meanings, be accounted for. These analytical categories take on concreteness when applied to any particular group. Thus, theoretical concerns and the empirical literature from anthropology and family sociology motivate our attention to the family organization of pre-marital experiences while our understanding of Tamang organization and structures of meaning compel us to explore the implications of variable marriage practices for brideservice.

The TFRP surveys include data for testing how differences in family background, individual life course experience, marriage process and interfamilial relationships affect the practice of brideservice. For pre-marital life course experience we have data for first events of working at family-organized income work, wage labor organized outside of the family, living away from parents, and living away from the natal village for periods of one month or longer. Aspects of marriage process, including spouse choice, relationship between families, ritual transfers, and relationship between families have been measured for all first and subsequent marriages. Here we examine the practice of brideservice after marriage; this variable is a dichotomy coded 0 if a woman's first husband provided no free labor to her natal kin after marriage and 1 if he had.

Of critical interest for models that link individual experience to structural context is whether changes in the marriage process alter subsequent elements of social organization historically tied to it. Within Tamang society, the normative expectation of brideservice draws attention to institutionalized advantages of marriage for a woman's natal household. To the extent that women are involved in the actualization of these interfamily ties, we expect their experience and autonomy to have an impact on wider social relations. Further, since these ties are interfamilial, the relative position of families should make a difference in their expression.

Woman's Natal Family Characteristics

Since brideservice is provided at the request of a woman's family, we expect to see a positive relationship between numbers of parents working before a woman's marriage and the propensity for a woman's husband to provide free labor. Assuming that parental work before marriage is associated with their work after marriage, it is likely that these parents would be in greater need of the assistance that brideservice can provide and, hence, more likely to request it.

Woman's Life Course Experience

Similarly, we expect to see a positive relationship between a woman's premarital participation in family income enterprises and the provision of brideservice. Where daughters provide such work, their loss to the family economy has a greater impact than in those families where they work for non-monetized home consumption only. Parents with daughters such as these may be expected to be more inclined to ask for compensatory labor. Since non-familial travel and work experiences for Timling women are predominantly seasonal and temporary, we expect no direct relationship with brideservice in this setting.

Marriage Characteristics

In Timling, our informants tell us that parents may receive the immediate labor advantages of brideservice irrespective of their daughter's choice; we would therefore expect no effect for this variable except for a slight negative relationship through its association with choosing non-relatives.

We have argued elsewhere (Fricke et al. 1993) that formalized exchanges of cloth from a groom's family to that of his wife's at marriage represent an affirmation of interfamilial connections irrespective of other elements of the marriage process. We therefore expect that such exchanges would be positively associated with the provision of brideservice, assuming that parents would be most likely to ask for this labor where a publicly recognized interfamilial connection exists.

Our informants suggest that family connections along multiple dimensions will strengthen a marriage and lead to yet more interactions between families. Since a kin link between spouses before marriage indicates already existing relationships and established patterns of interaction, we expect marriage to non-relatives to be negatively related to the provision of brideservice in both settings. Kin are not only more likely to be asked for help because of familiarity and multiple connections, but they are also more likely to feel the opprobrium of refusing help.

Relative Affinal Characteristics

Although, brideservice is expected to be provided at the request of a woman's natal family, the person from whom it is requested must be expected to weigh his own labor needs and obligations before acceding to these requests. Our measure of relative family landholding at marriage gives some indication of these competing claims on time and our expectation is that brideservice will be less forthcoming in cases where a husband's family holds relatively more land than his wife's. Families with relatively more land would have greater demands for labor. Among those cases in which a

woman's family has less land are kin less likely to ask for help simply because they have less need for it.

Finally, we recognize that all things equal the distance between families may make a difference in the provision of brideservice simply because distant families are not as easily asked for free labor nor can they as easily provide it. In Timling, where men rather than women engage in seasonal migrations to herd sheep and goats and where marriages are often contracted to provide access to seasonal pastures (Fricke 1994), even distant sons-in-law are likely to come near their wife's families at various times of the year, effectively moderating the effect of distance. Since this variable is not of direct interest to the issues we address, we enter it as a control. Affinal distance is measured as a simple dichotomy coded 0 if a woman and her first husband were born in the same village and 1 if the villages differed.⁶

Trends in Life Course and Marriage Transition

Older informants in Timling often reflect without prodding on the changes which have occurred in their lifetimes. Changes are spoken of with great drama, both in the exposure to new experiences through travel and work and in the consequences for individual behavior, especially of women. Thus informants in Timling speak of the growing freedom of women to travel, to gain independence through their earnings, and to counter the authority of their parents. In Table 1 we see that these perceptions of change are supported by cohort trends in individual experience.

Table 1 shows the distribution of ever-married women by parental characteristics, non-familial living and work experience, and characteristics of their first marriage process for three birth cohorts of women in Timling. Our choice of birth cohorts roughly captures historically relevant periods of socialization for Nepal as a whole--the earliest group born before 1946 was socialized in a period of stability when Nepal was more dramatically closed to direct foreign influences; the middle group born between 1946 and 1965 was socialized in a transitional period that included a series of experiments in government and the formal opening of Nepal's borders; the last group were socialized in a period of well-established national transformations in schooling and economy. The figures demonstrate patterns of considerable change and some continuity.

The first panel displays trends for the practice of brideservice for Timling and gives a behavioral illustration of the transformations discussed above. In keeping with the transcript testimony of our informants the figures show a continuing practice of brideservice in the village. This is in spite of a drastic decline in the practice from over 80% to just 50% of first marriages.

Turning to the panel showing parental experience of income generating work, we can see that many domestic economies have included monetary activities throughout the 20th century. In Timling, only 17% of these oldest women are from families in which at least one parent performed such work. The rates of increase in women whose parents worked for income have, however, been dramatic. Percentages of daughters from the youngest cohort whose parents worked for income are more similar in the two settings. Indeed, if the presence of two working parents is taken as an indication of greater involvement in diversified domestic pursuits, then Timling's rate of increase considerably outstrips that of another TFRP research site closer to Kathmandu where sentiment continues to work against the participation of married women in jobs outside of the immediate area (Fricke, Thornton, and Dahal 1990).

Turning to individual life course experiences before marriage for these ever-married women, the next three panels display trends in the experience of living outside of the natal village, living away from parents, and working at family and non-family organized income work. These panels again illustrate the heightened change characterizing Timling. For example, unsupervised living arrangements and the experience of living outside of the village area for a month or longer has always been at relatively high levels in Timling. Part of this is, of course, simply a result of community location. For Timling residents, the nearest market continues to be Trisuli Bazaar where the current motorable road from Kathmandu comes to an end. It follows from this that we would expect an association between non-family work experience and living arrangements for Timling. The following panel for trends in various forms of work activity indeed shows very similar rates for Timling women who have lived in unsupervised living arrangements and women involved in non-family organized work before marriage.

The percentage of women who have never worked at income-generating work has declined through time. Among Timling's oldest cohort, 80% had never performed any work for money before their marriages while the last cohort includes only 35% who lacked such experience. The association between the various forms of non-familial experience is illustrated by the summary panel for total number of non-familial experiences (in living environment, living arrangements, and waged work) reported by women. Having any one of these experiences for Timling women means a high likelihood of having multiple experiences in that significant periods before marriage.

These trends are consistent with the expectation of a link with parental involvement in the choice of spouse. Individual spouse choice has

dramatically increased for women, from 18% of first marriages for the earliest cohort to 42% for the most recent. Joint choice of spouses by seniors and women remains roughly constant across this period so that there is a substantial decline in the parental direction of their daughters' marriages.

The next panel establishes that Timling has experienced almost no trend in the propensity to marry husbands who are categorical cross-cousins.⁷ The final three panels illustrate the lack of identifiable trends in variables having to do with relationships between families joined by marriage. Thus for relative family land, there is a more even distribution across time. Similarly, the practice of cloth transfers shows no dramatic pattern across cohorts. Finally, the last panel indicates that there is little identifiable trend in marriage between families from different villages. Timling is fairly endogamous with about two thirds of the first marriages occurring within the village.

Multivariate Results

Since all of the variables used in these analyses are categorical, with the dependent variable, brideservice, constructed as a dichotomy, we have estimated the multivariate equations using logistic regression with dummy variable predictors (Morgan and Teachman 1988; Hosmer and Lemeshow 1989). The results of these multivariate regressions are summarized in Table 2. This table lists the expected proportions of spouses providing brideservice for each category of the predictor variable, fixing the other variables in the equation at their observed distributions. These values reflect the proportion of women whose first husbands provided brideservice to their families adjusted for the influence of the other variables in the model.⁸

As an example, we can look at the unadjusted proportion column for birth cohort. The results here show that of those women born before 1946, 82% of their husbands provided brideservice to their natal families; of those born between 1946 and 1965, 63% of their husbands provided brideservice; and of those born after 1965, 50% of their husbands provided brideservice. The unadjusted proportion is the same as an observed proportion, as can be seen by a simple comparison of trends for brideservice in Table 1. Looking at the fourth column under adjusted proportions for birth cohort, we see a change in the proportions to 90% in the earliest birth cohort to 40% in the latest. This change reflects the levels one would find across cohorts if the effects of all the variables in the full column were taken into account at the same time.

Following the implications of the life course perspective outlined above, our presentation of models one through four in the adjusted columns replicates a temporal sequence. Variables occurring before the marriage

itself are presented in earlier models with parental work experience entered into equations before a woman's pre-marital experience. In our table, we enter the interfamilial variables separately. We follow this strategy since an examination of a variable's effect in temporal sequence must control for prior experiences and characteristics of the marriage process. Since brideservice is not a negotiated part of the marriage process and occurs after marriage it is in the proper temporal relation with the independent variables. Our strategy of sequentially entering the intervening variables for marriage process (spouse choice, cloth exchange) and interfamilial relationship (non-kin, relative land) reflects our interest in the logical difference between these two categories rather than their temporal order since they are, again, simultaneously determined.

Finally, although we present and discuss significance levels, these levels are strictly speaking relevant to data based on a sample drawn from the whole population. Since we have total coverage of the relevant population in Timling, we give more attention than usual to trends which are not statistically significant.

Our table presents the results of equations which explore the familial, life course, and marriage process effects on the giving of brideservice in the study community. Here, the Timling patterns by themselves are quite consistent with expectation. Looking at the results, we see that zero-order effects are strong and negative for birth cohort. A woman's family organized income work and the transfer of cloth are both positively and significantly related to brideservice as expected. Some of family income work's effect is indirect through its impact on marriage process as shown by the decline in effects and significance in model 4, but cloth exchange continues to have a strong positive effect across models. Having a previously unrelated spouse is negatively related to the practice of brideservice as expected and this effect is strengthened when entered in the equation in model 4. Similarly, a husband with more family land than his spouse is less likely to provide brideservice, an effect again strengthened in the full model. Non-family experience has no effect while participation in spouse choice has no effect in the zero-order case but moves toward a positive effect when other variables are considered.

One of the more interesting patterns for Timling is the strengthening of cohort effects across models together with the jump in significance and effect for the relationship between parental work and brideservice when entered with birth cohort in Model 1. These results suggest that the decline in brideservice would be even more dramatic than it already is without parental work experience acting to increase the practice. They also suggest that another variable with a marked cohort trend is pushing the decline in

brideservice. We suspect that this is the increasing participation of men in the non-familial monetized economy. Although we lack a direct measure of husband's work in the present models, we know it to be increasing through time; it is plausible that our cohort measure captures some of this mechanism. We suggest that these husbands are less likely to contribute free labor to their affines because of time constraints and absence from the village for long periods.

Discussion and Conclusions

We opened our theoretical discussion by addressing a range of issues in the study of relationships between social change and family and marriage transitions: (1) whether the widespread association of non-family organization of earlier life course experience with increased participation in spouse choice would prevail in societies where institutionalized relations between families are organized by marriage; (2) whether these changes and their consequences for marriage process would result in transformations in specific interfamilial relationships common among such marital alliance societies. Our findings generally provide a good deal of support to expectations developed in light of our attention to cultural and local context while suggesting some implications for theories of family change.

With respect to the first issue, our straightforward trend analysis results underscore the general association between larger processes of change and the increased autonomy of young people as measured by their participation in marital decision-making. In spite of the various mechanisms for increased participation in marriage decisions, the parallel transformations of parental work experience and non-familially organized individual experiences across cohorts describe trajectories replicated in nearly all known settings. The issue of whether these lead in turn to changes in interfamilial relations was addressed in subsequent analyses.

When we explored the impact of these changes on an actual exchange practice, that of brideservice, the results were somewhat more clear than in the trend data for other markers of interfamilial relationship such as kin marriage. These findings indicate that social transformations in family and individual life course experience do affect subsequent interfamilial relationships. Some results were as one would straightforwardly expect from standard theory. Thus, marriage to non-kin was associated with a large and significant reduction in brideservice. To the extent that non-kin marriage is a function of changing intergenerational relationships, as is hinted at by the association between participation in spouse choice and marriage outside of cross-cousin relationships in Timling, one finds a link between monetization, children's autonomy, and change in interfamilial

relationships. Less obvious associations between variables also held, as with the paradoxical strengthening of brideservice by parental work experience.

What of the future? Our results indicate marginally significant associations between the provision of brideservice and parental work or autonomous spouse. Yet, there is no reason to expect brideservice levels to rise through time simply because these other practices are increasing. Indeed, we suggest that these relationships in Timling are largely a result of the special context of still overwhelming reliance on agro-pastoralism for subsistence. The more compelling links between other ritual exchanges at marriage and cross-cousin marriage are more likely keys to what the future for Timling holds. Although these are not yet in dramatic decline some evidence indicates the beginnings of a downward movement in some forms of cross-cousin marriage (Fricke 1995b). Given that cross-cousin marriage and brideservice pertain to common themes of family organization, we might expect further declines in brideservice. Supporting evidence comes from another TFRP study site, much more monetized than Timling, that shows far lower levels of labor exchange and brideservice (Fricke, Dahal, Thornton, Axinn, and Rimal 1991).

The single outcome variable we have investigated is, of course, merely one of numerous forms of labor and exchange within Tamang communities (Toffin 1986; Campbell 1994). We argue, however, that it is a significant indicator of more widespread supportive relations across affinal boundaries. It is clear from the testimony of our informants and of other unpaid forms of work in Timling that affinal contributions to a married woman's parents can be important to their well-being in both direct and indirect ways. Moreover, given average ages of marriage and departure from natal homes for the Tamang, these links are likely to occur at points in the parental life cycle when men and women are in increasing need of assistance (Fricke 1994). To the extent that the decrease in these practices is tied to other changes in individual lives and larger social contexts, they have the potential of creating needs for new support mechanisms.

An examination of relationships within a single community in Nepal constrains the extent to which conclusions may be generalized. Moreover, we have examined a limited set of variables relevant to interfamilial relationships defined by marriage. Declines in brideservice may be balanced by increases in other forms of assistance as is hoped for by those who attempt to attract well-connected sons-in-law in South India (Caldwell et al. 1988). Nevertheless, our results suggest that, in alliance settings as we have defined them here, family transformation involves components which are interfamilial in addition to those intergenerational dimensions more

commonly addressed in the literature. If marriage which includes continuing forms of interfamilial transfer is considered broadly, then these interfamilial dimensions will be profitably investigated in changing societies in Nepal; elsewhere in South Asia, parts of Southeast Asia, and many parts of sub-Saharan Africa (Leach 1961; Lindenbaum 1981; Acharya and Bennett 1981; Barnard and Good 1984; Caldwell et al. 1988). Other research suggests the importance of these links to issues such as women's social security and demographic change (Dyson and Moore 1983) in addition to its self-evident relation to more general social transformation.

More generally, this analysis of changing marriage transition in an explicitly alliance setting reaffirms the importance of approaching questions of social and family change in terms of dimensions provided by the society of study itself. Where marriage organizes relations between families, it is reasonable to assume that transformations in a wide range of individual-level experiences will have important structural implications for these links.

Notes

- 1 Support for data collection and analysis was provided by the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (Grants # HD22543 and HD29824), the National Science Foundation (Grant # SES-8607288). Dilli Dahal's residence at the University of Michigan was supported by a Fulbright Senior Research Scholar grant and an Andrew P. Mellon Fellowship from the University of Michigan's Population Studies Center. We acknowledge the permission of His Majesty's Government of Nepal for permission to conduct field research in that country. Thanks to Linda Young-Demarco for help in data processing and analysis. And thanks to Laura Ahearn, Bill Axinn, Phil Morgan, Nancy Riley, Jay Teachman, Arland Thornton and members of the Michigan Family Studies Seminar group for comments on this work while in progress.
- 2 The 1991 Nepal census actually lists a greater number of the Tibeto-Burman Magar than Tamang. The Magar are, however, far more Hinduized than the Buddhist Tamang, and a far smaller number claim to speak their native Tibeto-Burman language than do Tamang. In Timling, Ghale and Tamang effectively share a common Tamang ideology of kinship and marriage. For examples of related groups, see Jones and Jones (1976), Macfarlane (1976), Levine (1988), Ahearn (1994), and some of the societies studied in Acharya and Bennett (1981).
- 3 Throughout this paper words and phrases in quotation marks indicate a direct translation of an informant's words in informal, taped interviews.
- 4 Practicing, instead, what is called indirect dowry (Goody and Tambiah 1973), in which a groom's family presents money and goods to a woman's parents at marriage. These valuables are eventually transferred to the bride herself and are not retained by her natal kin.

- 5 Extended discussion of the TFRP data collection may be found in Axinn, Fricke, and Thornton (1991).
- 6 Because of extremely low rates of migration, the practice of virilocal residence, and the strong ties to patriline land the comparison of husbands' and wives' birthplaces is an effective measure of affinal distance.
- 7 Because of the potential truncation biases introduced by confining analyses to ever-married women only, we have also examined all trends and performed multivariate analyses using marriage cohorts. There were no substantial changes in the results. See appendix B in Thornton and Lin 1994 for a discussion of truncation bias in survey data.
- 8 Other equations were estimated in addition to those summarized in the table. One set included a woman's age at marriage as a continuous variable. Another substituted marriage cohort for birth cohort. All of these equations produced results which were substantially the same as those presented here. We also estimated multinomial models for the 3 category version of participation in spouse choice. Results were consistent with those presented in Table 2 except that parental work was not significant as it is in the presented models.

References

- Acharya, Meena and Lynn Bennett. 1981. *The Rural Women of Nepal: An Aggregate Analysis and Summary of 8 Village Studies*. Kathmandu: CEDA/TU.
- Ahearn, Laura M. 1994. *Consent and Coercion: Changing Marriage Practices among Magars in Nepal*. PhD dissertation in Anthropology. University of Michigan.
- Alexander, Jeffrey C. 1987. *Action and Its Environments: Toward a New Synthesis*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Alter, George. 1988. *Family and the Female Life Course: The Women of Verviers, Belgium, 1849-1880*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Axinn, William G., Tom Fricke, and Arland Thornton. 1991. The Microdemographic Community Study Approach: Improving Survey Data by Integrating the Ethnographic Method. *Sociological Methods and Research* 20:187-217.
- Barnard, Alan and Anthony Good. 1984. *Research Practices in the Study of Kinship*. Orlando: Academic Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1976. Marriage Strategies as Strategies of Social Reproduction. *Family and Society: Selections from the Annales*, ed. R. Forster and O. Ranum, pp. 117-146. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

- Caldwell, John C. 1982. *Theory of Fertility Decline*. New York: Academic Press.
- Caldwell, John C., P.H. Reddy, and Pat Caldwell. 1988. *The Causes of Demographic Change: Experimental Research in South India*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Campbell, Ben. 1994. Forms of Cooperation in a Tamang Community. In *Anthropology of Nepal: Peoples, Problems, and Processes*, ed. Michael Allen, pp. 3-18. Kathmandu: Mandala Book Point.
- Collier, Jane F. 1988. *Marriage and Inequality in Classless Societies*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Dahal, Dilli R. 1983. *Poverty or Plenty: Innovative Responses to Population Pressure in an Eastern Nepalese Hill Community*. PhD dissertation in Anthropology, University of Hawaii.
- Dahal, Dilli R., Tom Fricke, and A. Thornton. 1993. The Family Contexts of Marriage Timing in Nepal. *Ethnology* 32:305-23.
- Dumont, Louis. 1983. *Affinity as a Value: Marriage Alliance in South India*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Dyson, Tim and Mick Moore. 1983. On Kinship Structure, Female Autonomy, and Demographic Behavior in India. *Population and Development Review* 9:35-60.
- Fricke, Tom. 1990. Elementary Structures in the Nepal Himalaya: Reciprocity and the Politics of Hierarchy in Ghale-Tamang Marriage. *Ethnology* 29: 135-58.
- . 1994. *Himalayan Households: Tamang Demography and Domestic Processes*. Expanded Edition. New York: Columbia University Press.
- . 1995a. History, Marriage Politics, and Demographic Events in the Central Himalaya. *Situating Fertility: Anthropology and Demographic Inquiry*, ed. S. Greenhalgh, pp. 202-24. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1995b. Marriage Change as Moral Change: Culture, Virtue, and Demographic Transition. Paper presented at "Seminar in Honor of John Caldwell: The Continuing Demographic Transition." Australian National University, Canberra, August 14-17.
- Fricke, Tom, William G. Axinn, and Arland Thornton. 1993. Marriage, Social Inequality, and Women's Contact with Their Natal Families in Alliance Societies: Two Tamang Examples. *American Anthropologist* 95:395-419.
- Fricke, Tom, Dilli R. Dahal, Arland Thornton, William G. Axinn, and Krishna Rimal. 1991. *Tamang Family Research Project Report*.

- Kirtipur (Kathmandu): Center for Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University.
- Fricke, Tom, Arland Thornton, and Dilli R. Dahal. 1990. Family Organization and the Wage Labor Transition in a Tamang Community of Nepal. *Human Ecology* 18:283-313.
- Goode, William J. 1970. *World Revolution and Family Patterns*. New York: Free Press.
- Goody, Jack and S.J. Tambiah. 1973. *Bridewealth and Dowry*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gurung, Harka. 1989. *Regional Patterns of Migration in Nepal*. Papers of the East-West Population Institute No. 113. Honolulu: East-West Center.
- Hitchcock, John T. 1963. Some Effects of Recent Change in Rural Nepal. *Human Organization* 22:75-82.
- Höfer, András. 1969. Preliminary Report on Field Research in a Western Tamang Group, Nepal. *Bulletin of the International Committee on Urgent Anthropological and Ethnological Research* 11:17-31.
- Holmberg, David H. 1989. *Structure in Paradox: Myth, Ritual, and Exchange among Nepal's Tamang*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Hosmer, David W. and Stanley Lemeshow. 1989. *Applied Logistic Regression*. New York.
- Jones, Rex L. and Shirley K. Jones. 1976. *The Himalayan Woman: A Study of Limbu Women in Marriage and Divorce*. Palo Alto: Mayfield.
- Leach, Edmund R. 1961. The Structural Implications of Matrilateral Cross-Cousin Marriage. In *Rethinking Anthropology*, pp. 54-104. London: Athlone.
- Levi-Strauss, Claude. 1969. *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Levine, Nancy E. 1988. *The Dynamics of Polyandry: Kinship, Domesticity, and Population on the Tibetan Border*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lindenbaum, Shirley. 1981. Implications for Women of Changing Marriage Transactions in Bangladesh. *Studies in Family Planning* 12:294-301.
- Macfarlane, Alan. 1976. *Resources and Population: A Study of the Gurungs of Nepal*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- _____. 1986. *Marriage and Love in England, 1300-1840*. London.
- MacIntyre, Alasdair. 1981. *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.

- Morgan, S. Philip and Jay D. Teachman. 1988. Logistic Regression: Descriptions, Examples, Comparisons. *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 50:926-936.
- Sharma, Pitamber. 1989. *Urbanization in Nepal*. Papers of the East-West Population Institute No. 110. Honolulu: East-West Center.
- Thornton, Arland and Tom Fricke. 1987. Social Change and the Family: Comparative Perspectives from the West, China, and South Asia. *Sociological Forum* 24:746-779.
- Thornton, Arland and H.S. Lin. 1994. *Social Change and the Family in Taiwan*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Toffin, Gérard. 1986. Mutual Assistance in Agricultural Work Among the Western Tamang of Nepal: Traditional and New Patterns. In *Recent Research on Nepal*, ed. Klaus Seeland, pp. 83-96. Munich: Weltforum Verlag.

Table 1. Living Arrangements, Work, and First Marriage Processes in Timling, Upper Ankhu Khola.

Birth Cohort	<1946	46-65	66-75	Total
Number of Women	76	82	26	184
	%	%	%	%
Brideservice				
No	18	37	50	31
Yes	82	63	50	69
Parental Work before R's marriage				
Neither Parent	83	56	35	64
Mother Only	4	5	4	4
Both	3	17	35	14
Father Only	11	22	27	18
R Live out of village before marriage				
Never	99	79	69	82
Yes	11	21	31	18
R lived away from parents before marriage				
Never	86	68	39	71
Supervised	3	10	15	8
Unsupervised	12	22	46	21
Wagework before marriage				
None	80	63	35	66
Family Only	4	11	8	8
Fam & Nonfamily	8	7	12	8
Nonfamily Only	8	18	46	18
Number of Non-Family Activities Before Marriage				
None	82	63	42	68
One	7	16	8	11
2-3	11	21	50	21
Who chose spouse				
Entirely Senior	51	33	27	40
Together	31	30	31	30
R alone	18	37	42	30

Marriage Type				
Cross-cousin	72	70	69	71
Unrelated	28	30	31	29
Cloth Transferred				
No	57	48	58	53
Yes	43	52	42	47
Relative Land of Families at Marriage				
Wife's greater	36	36	19	34
Equal	35	31	50	35
Husb. greater	29	33	31	31
Affinal Distance				
Same Village	58	74	54	65
Outside	42	26	46	35

Table 2. Multivariate Analysis of Brideservice after First Marriage.^a

		Unadjusted	Adjusted Proportions ^c			
	N	Proportions ^b	1	2	3	4
Birth Cohort						
<1946	76	.82	.85	.86	.89	.90
1946-1965	82	.63	.62	.62	.63	.64
1966-1975	26	.50	.44	.44	.46	.40
Significance ^d		****	****	****	****	****
Parental Work Before R's 1st Marriage						
Neither Worked	118	.68	.65	.66	.70	.71
One Worked	41	.68	.75	.76	.77	.75
Both Worked	25	.76	.86	.86	.88	.90
Significance ^d			***	**		*
Woman's Family Organized Income Work before 1st Marriage						
None	155	.66	---	.67	.71	.71
One	29	.86	---	.89	.90	.89
Significance ^d		***		****	***	**
Woman's Non-Family Organized Experience before 1st Marriage						
None	125	.70	---	.72	.75	.74
Some	20	.75	---	.72	.76	.79
2-3	39	.64	---	.70	.74	.76
Significance ^d						
Choice of Spouse						
Seniors	73	.70	---	---	.70	.69
Jointly	56	.64	---	---	.76	.74
Respondent	73	.73	---	---	.79	.82
Significance ^d					*	*
Cloth Given to Bride's Family						
No	97	.60	---	---	.66	.63
Yes	87	.79	---	---	.83	.85
Significance ^d		****			***	****

Kin Link between Spouses before Marriage						
Cross-cousin	130	.73	---	---	---	.81
Non-relative	54	.59	---	---	---	.57
Significance ^d	****	****				
Relative Family land						
Wife Greater	62	.69	---	---	---	.76
About Equal	65	.80	---	---	---	.84
Husband Greater	57	.56	---	---	---	.59
Significance ^d		***				***
Affinal Distance						
Same Village	119	.71	.74	.75	.77	.76
Outside Village	76	.66	.65	.66	.69	.73
Significance ^d						

- a Dependent variable is whether first husband provided free labor to wife's family after marriage; 0=no free labor, 1=free labor provided.
- b These are the observed proportions of the dependent variable within categories of the predictor variables.
- c The adjusted proportions are predicted values on the dependent variable within each category of the predictor variables. The predicted values were estimated from logistic regression equations including all of the variables in the model columns.
- d These rows designate statistical significance under the assumption of simple random sampling. Significance of χ^2 : *=.15 level; **=.10 level; ***=.05 level; ****=.01 level.

DEICTIC AND NON-DEICTIC SENSES OF KIN TERMS IN धौंचोलेचा

Austin Hale
Kedar P. Shrestha

This brief study is offered as a tribute to honor the memory of Dhanavajra Vajracarya. Since one important facet of his scholarly contribution was the study and elucidation of texts, we thought it appropriate to configure our tribute as a synchronic grammatical commentary on one small aspect of a text: the deictic and non-deictic senses of kin terms in, धौंचोलेचा as published by Prem Bahadur Kansakar, B.S. 2023 in न्यौंक बाखं, (हिमाञ्चल पुस्तक भवन) pp. 1-11. In order to make the text accessible to a wider readership we have given a slightly edited version of the text at the end of the paper.¹

1. The problem

There are two ways of saying 'mother' in Newari.

1. a. mā: 'mother'
- b. mā:-mhɔ 'mother'

The form in (1b) is used for one of two purposes. (1) to forestall the inference that the speaker is referring to his or her own mother, or (2) to focus upon a particular mother. The form in (1a) has both a deictic and a non-deictic sense, as is discussed in greater detail in Section 2. In the deictic sense (1a) could be glossed 'my mother' in many contexts. If we view the deictic sense as the default we can state the problem addressed in this paper as follows: What devices are used in Newari to override this default, and among these devices what is the role of -mhɔ ? The problem, then, is to define the contexts in which -mhɔ occurs and to characterize its functions in those contexts. The morpheme -mhɔ with which we are concerned occurs only with kin terms and the text at hand contains over seventy occurrences of kin terms. It thus provides an excellent vantage point for the investigation of this problem.

2. The notion, '*deictic sense*.'

In our use of the term, deictic, we are following Ronald Langacker (1985:113). Terms that refer implicitly to some aspect of the speech situation, such as time of speaking, place of speaking, or the speech-act participants (speaker or addressee) are deictic, or at least have a deictic sense. In English the word 'Tuesday' has both a deictic and a non-deictic sense.

2. a. Tuesday is the second day of the week.
- b. Tuesday was hectic.
- c. Tuesday is going to be difficult.

'Tuesday' in (2a) would have the same interpretation regardless of the speech situation. It simply names a day of the week without reference to the time of speaking. 'Tuesday' in (2a) is therefore used in its non-deictic sense. In (2b) and (2c), however, 'Tuesday' is understood with reference to the time of speaking. In (2b) it refers to the Tuesday immediately prior to the time of speaking and in (2c) it refers to the Tuesday immediately following. In (2b) and (2c) 'Tuesday' is used in its deictic sense.

English also has place designations that have both deictic and non-deictic senses. Langacker cites a construction involving the word, 'across.'

3. a. There is a mailbox across the street from the drugstore.
- b. There is a mailbox across the street from here.
- c. There is a mailbox across the street.

In (3a) the reference point (or in Langacker's terms, the landmark) in terms of which the expression 'across the street' is interpreted is 'the drugstore.' There is no implicit reference to any aspect of the speech situation. Example (3a) would have the same interpretation regardless of where it was spoken, and thus in this example 'across the street' is used in its non-deictic sense. The landmark for 'across the street' in (3b) is 'here', which is deictic. Example (3b) will be interpreted differently depending upon where it is uttered by virtue of the fact that 'here' has implicit reference to the place of speaking. Thus, in (3b) 'here' is deictic, while 'across the street' is not. In (3c), however, 'across the street' itself has implicit reference to the place of speaking, and is thus deictic.

Kin terms in English have a deictic sense when used in direct address.

4. "Mother, please come here!"

Here the term 'mother' has the speaker as reference point. Example (4) can be appropriately uttered only to a person who can be regarded as the

speaker's mother. The kin term, 'mother' in (4) is thus used in its deictic sense.

Returning to Example (1), we shall distinguish between the ways of saying 'mother' in Newari by calling (1a) the unmarked form and (1b) the anti-deictic form.

- | | |
|------------|-------------------------|
| 1'. a. mā: | 'mother' (unmarked) |
| b. mā:-mhɔ | 'mother' (anti-deictic) |

As we shall attempt to show, there are a great number of different ways in which the deictic sense of a kin term in Newari can be overridden, but when all else fails, and the speaker chooses not to use any of the constructions that suppress the deictic sense of the kin term, the anti-deictic suffix *-mhɔ* can be used for this purpose.²

In the following sections we will attempt to sort out the senses of the Newar kin terms in *Dhōcoleca* in terms of a series of hypotheses that seek to explain the use of the deictic sense. To save space reference will be made to paragraph and sentence number in the text, reducing the need to interrupt the discussion with examples.

3. Non-specific terms are non-deictic

If a kin term has no specific referent, it is not relational, and is thus non-deictic. In (6.11), 'Having had compassion on her like a mother and father he had given her to eat and drink.' Here mā:bəunɔ̃ 'mother and father' is part of a simile and has no specific referents in view. The kin terms in (9.6) are also used without specific reference: *a: jimi kə: dha:sā: mhyæ: dha:sā: chɛ: dha:sā: chui dha:sa: chɔ he julɔ*. 'Now you are like our son, our daughter, our grandchild, or our great grandchild.' In (9.3) the speakers had indicated that they had no children. Consequently these kin terms can have no referents. The kin term əbū: 'father' in (1.12) is part of an idiom, *əbū: mɔsiugu du:khɔ* 'trouble which not even a father has experienced' and thus has no direct reference to her own father.

4. Kin terms with 'brand-new' referents are non-deictic

If the referent of a kin term is 'brand-new' (e.g., is the subject of an existential clause being brought 'on stage' for the first time in a narrative) it is not deictic. An example of this is found in (1.4): 'He also had a daughter by her.' Here the kin term is marked as indefinite with a numeral classifier construction.

5. Default landmark for deictic kin terms in statements is the speaker

In statements the speaker is the default landmark for the deictic sense of a kin term. In (3.6) we have an example of direct address: "*yota ji n̄: w̄ye*" 'Dear Sister, I want to come too.' The deictic landmark for 'sister' is clearly the speaker. A parallel case is found in (4.14): "*ch̄: chu n̄yagu h̄: t̄ta*" 'What have you eaten, Older Sister?'

As an example of the deictic sense of a kin term used as a reference term we have (13.10): "*ayababa ɔj̄: kut̄:nyat̄*" 'Ouch, Grandmother pinched me!' Again the speaker is the landmark for the deictic kin term even though the term is used as fictive kin. In (14.1) we have a parallel in which *mhyæ:* 'daughter' is deictic and the speaker, the mother, is the landmark.

6. Default landmark for deictic kin terms in questions is the addressee

In a question the addressee is the default landmark for the deictic sense of a kin term. We have an example of this in (13.8-9): "*chæ: puta chæ: ? bajyā kut̄:nyat̄ la ?*" 'Why, child, why? Did Grandfather pinch you?' Here the landmark for the deictic kin term, *bajyā:* 'grandfather' is the addressee. The "grandmother" is speaking to the child adopting the child's perspective. (The "grandfather" is grandfather only from the child's perspective.) Another instance is found in (13.11).

7. Where the default picks the wrong landmark in direct address.

This is one case that is not exemplified in the text. The following example comes from Girijaa Prasaad's *nyalla byā:* in *kheluita:* for NS. 1108:59-64, paragraph 20:

5. ε:	mā:-mhc̄ Oh Mother
Oh	mother-AD

Here a man is addressing a woman who was the mother of a child who was present. The addressee was not the speaker's mother. She was a mother, but not his mother, hence the default for direct address would have picked the wrong landmark, namely the speaker. To override this default the speaker utilizes the anti-deictic (AD) *-mhc̄*.

8. Overriding the default landmark at phrase level with a possessive.

There are many examples in the text in which the landmark of a kin term is made explicit through a possessive and since it is fairly straightforward

we will only discuss the first one, Example (1.2). 'Her mother died already when she was a little child.' The form *wəya mā:* 'her mother' makes the landmark explicit as the antecedent of 'her', namely the child, *Punakhū: Məi:ca*. Since the landmark is explicit, the kin term is not deictic. If the kin term had been deictic the default landmark would have been the narrator of the story. Additional examples occur in (1.3), (1.7), (2.11), (3.1), (3.5), twice in (6.2), in (11.2), (11.13), and in (12.1).

9. Defaults at clause level

Kin terms which are subjects of main clauses take, in general, the speaker as their default landmarks. Kin terms in other positions default to the subject noun phrase of the clause in which they occur. Example (1.6) illustrates this with *wə:* 'that one' as ergative-marked subject referring to the stepmother and *nhyesumhyə:yatə* 'stepdaughter' as the object. The kin term finds its landmark in the subject and no anti-deictic marking is required. Further examples are to be found in (1.11), (4.21), (5.1), (6.16), and (14.13). The analysis of these examples is summarized in Figure 1. From such examples we may tentatively say that positions other than that of main clause subject have the main clause subject as their default landmarks and thus will not be expected to have a deictic sense.

10. Defaults at sentence level

Where we have more than one clause in a sentence, kin terms in subordinate clauses take the main clause subject as their default landmark. Example (4.9) illustrates this with *wə:* 'that one' as the ergative shared subject both of the non-final verb *ciwa kəya:* 'spying on' and the final verb *swəyacwə:nə* 'kept looking'. Since *wə:* is subject of the sentence it is the default landmark of *tətā:* 'older sister', which is embedded within *tətā: chuchu*

Kin Term	Kin Term Role	Landmark	Landmark's Role
1.6 <i>nhyesu-mhyə:yatə</i>	Dative Object	<i>wə:</i> (SM)	Ergative Subject
1.11 <i>kəla:-ya nhyəne</i>	Oblique Object	<i>wə:</i> (F)	Ergative Subject
4.21 <i>kehə-yatə</i>	Dative Object	∅ (PM)	Ergative Subject
5.1 <i>kehə</i>	Absolutive Object	<i>punəkhū: məi:ca</i>	Absolutive Subject
6.16 <i>kəla:-ya pərsi-mole:</i>	Possessor of Locative	<i>bəu-mhə</i> (F)	Absolutive Subject

14.13 mhyæ:	Absolutive Object	ø (SM)	Subject
14.14 mhyæ:- yagu	Possessor of Subject of khə̀nə complement	ø (SM)	Experiencer Subject

Figure 1. Analysis of explicit default kin term landmarks at clause level
Abbreviations: F = Father, PM = Punakhū: Məĩ:ca, SM = Stepmother

Kin Term	Kin Term Role	Landmark	Landmark's Role
3.6 mamō:	Ergative Subject of Manner Clause	wō:	Ergative Subject
4.5 tətā	Ergative Subject of Correlative subordinate clause	kehē-mhə dha:sa	Sentence-Topic
4.9 tərā:	Ergative Subject of dhəka: (ciwa) Complement	wō:	Ergative Subject ciwa
4.12 tətā:	Ergative Subject of khə̀na: Complement	kehē-mhə	Shared Subject of khə̀na:
5.6 nhyesu- mhyæ:-ya	Genitive Subject of Concessive Clause	wəya ø	Subject of Main Clause
5.7 bha:tə	Absolutive Subject of Temporal Clause	ø	Absolutive Subject of Main Clause
5.8 kəlatō:	Ergative Subject of Relative Clause within the Object	ø	Ergative Subject of Main Clause

Figure 2. Analysis of explicit default kin term landmarks at sentence level.

yai dhəka: 'what her older sister would do', which, in turn is the complement of the non-final verb ciwa kya. Since wō: 'she (younger sister)' is the default landmark for tətā: 'older sister', there is no need for the

anti-deictic *-mh* to forestall the misconception that the narrator is referring here to his own older sister.

In (3.6) we find evidence that grammatical relations are what are crucial in the identification of the default landmark and not word order. Here the kin term *mam̃*: 'mother' occurs in sentence-initial position as the subject of a subordinate manner clause, 'As [her] mother instructed her'. Since it is a subordinate clause, the kin term finds its default landmark in the subject of the main clause, *w̃*: 'that one', an ergative demonstrative referring to the younger sister. In (4.5) we have an example of a complex sentence with a topic. Since this sentence is a correlative it does not have a 'main clause' in the normal sense of the term, but does have a sentence topic, *kēhēm̃* 'younger sister'. This then is the default landmark for the ergative subject of the first clause, *tātā*: 'older sister'. Note that the topic needs the anti-deictic suffix to forestall the default assignment of its landmark to the speaker while the subject of the first clause does not. Further examples of this type can be found in (4.9), (4.12), (5.6), (5.7), and (5.8). The analyses of these examples are summarized in Figure 2.

11. Expressive and Reportive Frames

Li and Zubin (1990:254 ff.) distinguish between reportive and expressive framing. The examples considered thus far have been analyzed on the assumption that they were instances of reportive framing. In reportive framing the narrator speaks (writes) to his hearers (readers) and presents things from his point of view. Deictics in reportive framing thus relate to a speech situation in which the speaker's (writer's) viewpoint is represented, and the speaker (writer) is a candidate landmark for kin terms. In expressive framing the narrator presents not an objective account of things from his own point of view, but takes the audience rather into the mind of one participant in the story. Within such a frame the narrator disappears as a candidate landmark for kin terms and the participant whose consciousness is portrayed and whose internal states are being communicated becomes the ultimate subjective landmark in the narrator's stead.

While we do not have examples that represent the archotypical expressive frame, we do have narrator reports of the thoughts of a participant. Such reports retain the third person references to the "participant thinker" and thus are not as purely expressive as first person statements would be (e.g., *th̃:guhe mikhaya nhỹ:ne* 'before her very own eyes' in (3.2)—one would have expected *jigu he mikhaya nhỹ:ne* 'before my own eyes' in a direct quote of the thinker's thoughts.)

The interposition of a "participant thinker", however, appears to be enough of a move in the direction of an expressive frame to constitute the

"participant thinker" as the default landmark for kin terms. Examples of the "participant thinker" are found in (3.2-4), (4.19-21), (6.12-16), and (14.1-6). The first two of these stretches contains no kin terms. The analyses of the kin terms from the other two are summarized in Figure 3.

The assumption that the thinker (*Punakhū: Məĩ:ca*) is the kin term landmark accounts for the forms *cəmajuya jalɛ: 'the stepmother's trap'* and *cəmajuya lōdɔ nugɔ: 'the stepmother's heart of stone'* in (6.15) which would otherwise be unaccounted for. As the possessor of the main clause subject, the default landmark would, in a reportive frame, be the narrator. To forestall this the narrator would be obliged, in a strictly reportive frame, to use the forms *cəmajumhɛ:sya jalɛ: 'stepmother-AD-S-G trap'* and *cəmajumhɛ:sya 'stepmother-AD-S-G'* with the anti-deictic *-mhɔ* to disallow the interpretation that he was speaking of his own stepmother. Here, however the default landmark is the "thinker", the one whose thoughts are being reported. The "thinker" is *Punakhū: Məĩ:ca*, and this is just the landmark required in this case. In (14.2) and (14.6) the situation is parallel with the landmark defaulting to the stepmother, who is the "thinker" in these instances.

Kin Term	Kin Term Role	Landmark	Landmark's Role
6.12 <i>cəmaju-ya jalɛ:</i>	Possessor of Locative Site	ø (PM)	Quoted 'Thinker'
6.15 <i>cəmaju-ya</i>	Possessor of Subject	<i>punəkhū: məĩ:ca</i> extended thought quote.	Quoted 'Thinker'
14.2 <i>mhyæ:</i>	Subject of Main Clause	Stepmother in extended thought quote	Quoted 'Thinker'
14.6 <i>mhyæ:</i>	Subject of <i>dhəyagu</i> quote	Stepmother in explicit quote	Subject of quote

Figure 3. Default landmarks within quoted thought frames

12. Anti-deictic *-mhɔ* used to override erroneous default landmarks.

Up to this point we have been looking at instances in which the default landmark is correct, or in which devices other than *-mhɔ* have been used to override erroneous defaults. This has been necessary for the description of the distribution and use of *-mhɔ* since the use of *-mhɔ* seems best accounted for as the device of last resort, to be used when all else fails. Thus,

describing the use of *-mhɔ* entails the description of all the other devices that render the use of *-mhɔ* unnecessary. The text includes some twenty-five examples of the anti-deictic use of *-mhɔ* and the analyses of these instances are summarized in Figures 4a through 4c.

In (1.5) we have the form *cihrimā:-mhɛ:-s-ya* 'stepmother-AD-S-G'. This is a genitive experiencer functioning as the main clause subject of the sentence. If the anti-deictic *-mhɔ* had not been used here the form would have been *cihrimā:-ya* 'stepmother-G' and the default landmark would have been the narrator. The other instances presented in Figures 4a, 4b, and 4c are parallel.

Kin Term	Kin Term Role	Landmark	Landmark Role
1.5 <i>cihrimā:-mhɛ:-s-ya</i>	Genitive Subject	<i>punɔkhū:mɔ̃:ca</i>	Absolutive Objective
1.10 <i>bɔu-mhɛ:syã³</i>	Ergative Main Clause Subject	∅	Object of 1.9
3.1 <i>cihrimā-mhɛ:-sya</i>	Genitive Subject, Main Clause	<i>nhyesu-mhyæ:</i>	Absolutive Subject of embedded comparison
3.7 <i>tɔta-mhɛ:syã</i>	Ergative Subject, Main Clause	∅ (= YS)	∅ Object of embedded <i>khɔ̃-lha</i> complement
3.9 <i>kehē-mhɛ:syã dha:sa</i>	Sentence Topic = Ergative Subject	∅ (= PM)	∅ Addressee
3.11 <i>kehē-mhɛ:syã</i>	Ergative Subject of Main Clause	∅ (= PM)	∅ Addressee
3.13 <i>cɔmajumhɛ:syã</i>	Ergative Subject of Main Clause	∅ (= PM)	∅ Addressee
4.5 <i>kehē-mhɔ dha:sa</i>	Sentence Topic & Equative Subject	<i>tɔtã:</i>	Ergative Subject of Correlative Clause

Table 4a. Use of the anti-deictic *mhɔ* to override a default landmark.

Abbreviations: PM = *Punɔkhū: Mɔ̃:ca*, YS = Younger Sister

Kin Term	Kin Term Role	Landmark	Landmark Role
4.8 kehẽ-mhɔ	Absolutive Shared Subject (final & non-final)	no role	no role
4.12 kehẽ-mhɔ	Absolutive Subject Final Clause	tɔtã: (= PM)	Ergative Subject of khɔna: complement
4.14 kehẽ-mhɔ	Ergative Subject, Main clause	ø (= PM)	ø Addressee
4.17 kehẽ-mhɔ	Absolutive Subject of Main Clause	ø (= PM)	ø Object
4.18 kehẽ-mhɛ:syã	Ergative Subject of Main Clause	ø (= PM)	ø Addressee
5.2a kehẽ-mhɛ:syã	Ergative Shared Subject (final & non-final)	no role	no role
5.3 mã:-mhɔ	Absolutive Subject	no role	no role
5.8 bha:tɔ-mhɔ	Absolutive Shared Object of non-final and Subject of final Clause	kɔlat-ɔ: (= SM)	Ergative Subject of Relative Clause within the Object of the Main Clause.

Figure 4b. Use of the anti-deictic *-mhɔ* to override a default landmark.

Kin Term	Kin Term Role	Landmark	Landmark Role
6.16 bhəu-mhə la	la-Sentence Topic & Absolutive Subject of Main Clause	kəla:-ya	Possessive of Locative Predicate Complement
7.8 cəmajū- mhə:syā	Ergative Subject of Main Clause	ø (= PM)	ø Addressee
11.7 cəmajū- mhə:syā	Ergative Subject of Main Clause	punəkhū: məĩ:cā:	Ergative Subject of Reason Clause
12.1 cəmajū- mhə:syā	Ergative Subject of Main Clause	no role	no role
12.2 mhyə:- mhə	Absolutive Subject of Main Clause	no role	no role
14.1 mā:- mhəsiya	Genitive Subject of Main Clause	mhyə: (= YS)	Subject of Embedded Quote

Figure 4c. Use of the anti-deictic *-mhə* to override a default landmark.

13. Anti-deictic *-mhə* used for focus.

The second use of the anti-deictic mentioned in Section 1 was to provide focus. There are ten instances of this in the text we are dealing with and in none of these cases is *-mhə* needed to override an erroneous default choice of landmark for the kin term involved. The analyses for these examples are summarized in Figures 5a and 5b.

There are two characteristics of this set of examples that are of particular interest. First of all, in every instance there is a main clause subject or sentence topic which constitutes the correct landmark for the kin term to which the contrastive *-mhə* is affixed. In none of these cases is *-mhə* required for the purpose of overriding a faulty deictic landmark. This redundancy may, in fact, be a precondition for the interpretation of the anti-deictic *-mhə* as a focus marker. Second we may note that each instance of the focal sense of *-mhə* occurs at a plot-related crucial juncture in the story and attaches to the participant which constitutes the focus of the complication or the resolution at that point. A brief characterization of these junctures is given in the column headed 'Plot Notes' in Figures 5a and 5b.

In (3.8); for example, we have the form, *kehē-mhə* 'younger sister'. The narrator is here detailing the problems that would be involved if *Punəkhū: Məĩ:ca* were to take her younger sister along with her to pasture. *Punəkhū: Məĩ:ca* would not be free to eat what the goat had to offer her and she would go hungry. The younger sister is clearly the crux of the problem and is appropriately marked as focal at this point. In (3.10), when *Punəkhū: Məĩ:ca* agrees to take the younger sister along, the younger sister is marked once again—an appropriate foreshadowing of trouble to come at the hands of the younger sister.

Such a device is, of course, used more at the discretion and skill of the narrator than as the consequence of any kind of grammatical constraint. This would appear to be more a literary device than a grammatical one. In this story the focus marker is affixed to only two participants: to the younger sister in paragraphs (3) and (4) and to the younger sister's mother in paragraphs (5) and (11). The author appears to have made skillful use of this device as a villain marker.

Kin Term	Kin Term Role	Landmark	Landmark Role	Plot Notes
3.8 <i>kehē-mhə</i>	Absolutive Object of Conditional Clause	∅ (= PM)	∅ Subject of Conditional Clause & Beneficiary of embedded relative clause.	If YS goes, PM will not be able to eat
3.10 <i>kehē-mhə:syā</i>	Ergative Subject of Reason Clause	wō: (= PM)	Ergative Subject of Main Clause	PM agrees to take YS
3.14 <i>kehē-mhə:sitc</i>	Dative Object of Main Clause	<i>punəkhū: məĩ:cā:</i>	Ergative Subject of main Clause	PM took YS to pasture
4.1 <i>kehē-mhə:sitc</i>	Dative Object of Nonfinal Clause	<i>punəkhū: məĩ:ca</i>	Absolutive Shared Subject, Final & Nonfinal Clauses	YS actually went

4.3 kehē-mhɔ	3a. Absolutive Subject of Reason Clause	3a. ∅ (= PM) 3b. ∅ (= PM) 3c. ∅ (= PM)	Conjoined Subj, Beneficiary Object	Goat in a quandry due to YS
4.7 kehē-mhɛ:sitɔ	Dative Object of Main Clause	punɔkhū: mɔĩ:ca	Ergative Shared Subject, Final & Nonfinal Clauses	YS set up to spy on PM
4.13 kehē-mhɔ	Absolutive Object of Nonfinal Clause	punɔkhū mɔĩ:cā:	Ergative Shared Subject, Final & Nonfinal Clauses	YS catches PM in the act

Figure 5a. Redundant *-mhɔ* used for focus. In each of these cases *-mhɔ* can be omitted without implicating the narrator as the landmark for deictic kin terms.

Kin Term	Kin Term Role	Landmark	Landmark Role	Plot Notes
4.23 kehē-mhɔsinɔ:	Ergative Subject of Reason Clause	wɔ: (= PM)	Ergative Subject of Main Clause	YS throws tantrum
5.2b mā:-mhɛ:sitɔ	Dative Indirect Object of Final Clause	kehē-mhɛ:syā:	Ergative Shared Subject, Final & Nonfinal Clauses	YS hides a piece of rice as evidence
11.9 cɔmajumhɛ:syā:	Ergative Subject of Time Clause	∅ (= PM)	∅ Subject of Final Clause	PM gives SM the treasure

Figure 5b. Redundant *-mhɔ* used for focus.

Notes

1. We have received helpful comments from Ulrike Kölver, Karen Ebert, Randy LaPolla, Tej R. Kansakar, and David Hargreaves. This is a revised version of papers presented at the Seminar für allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Zürich, 14 January 1992; at the 27th International Congress on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics, Paris, 11-16 October 1994, and at the Royal Nepal Academy, 26th February 1995. Responsibility for linguistic theory and its application to the text rests with the first author. Responsibility for judgments regarding Newari examples rests with the second author.
2. We should be careful to distinguish the anti-deictic *-mhɔ* from three other forms with which it happens to be homophonous: (1) the noun as in *wɔya mɦɛ: sɔ̃du* 'There is hair on his body.' (2) the numeral classifier for sentient nouns: *kwɔ: chɔmhɔ* 'one crow', and (3) The nominal I attributive marker as in *wɔ:mɦɔ* 'the one who went'.
3. If the narrator had been referring to his own father, he would have used the form *ba-nɔ̃:* here to reflect the proper degree of respect.

References

- Kansakar, Prem Bahadur. (ed.) B.S. 2023. *घोचोलेचा* In *न्यँक बाखँ* [Stories told]. Kathmandu: Himancal Pustak Bhawan
- Langacker, Ronald W. 1985. "Observations and speculations on subjectivity," In John Haiman (ed.) *Iconicity in syntax* [TSL 6] Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. 109-150.
- Li, Naicong, and David A. Zubin. 1990. "Discourse continuity and perspective taking," *Papers from the 26th Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*, pp. 253-268.
- Prasaad, Girijaa. N.S. 1108. *न्याल्ला ब्यां*: In *Khelu-ita* for 1108:59-64.
- Zubin, David A., Soon Ae Chun, and Naicong Li. 1990. "Misbehaving reflexives in Korean and Mandarin," *Papers from the 16th Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*, pp. 338-352.

धौंचोलेचा

[An edited version of the original text published in न्यैकं बाखं, प्रेमबहादुर कसा, हिमाञ्चल पुस्तक भवन, न.स. २०२३, पौ १-११]

१ ^१छगू देशय् पुनखुं मैचा धयाह्म मिसामचा छह्म दु। ^२वया मां व मचाचाबले हे मदये धुकल। ^३अकिं वया बौनं मेह्म ब्याहा यात। ^४वया लं नं म्हयाय् छह्म दु। ^५चिहिमांम्हेस्या पुनखुं मैचा मिखा बागलं हे स्वये मयः। ^६अकिं वं न्हासुम्हाय्यात नकें स्याइगु। ^७थः म्हाय्यात धाःसा धयः, दुरु, ला तयाः जा नकीगु, साः साः भिभिं धावको नकीगु। ^८तर, पुनखुं मैचायात हिमो जक वालाः महि छुनाः नकीगु। ^९ज्या धाः सा मिखां खंको व्वइगु। ^{१०}ध्व खं बौम्हेस्यां सिउ। ^{११}तर, वं छुं धायेछाःगु मखु, कलाःया न्हाणे न्वचु हे ल्हवनेगु तागत वयाके मरु। ^{१२}थुकथं पुनखुं मैचां अबुं मसिउगु दुःख सिल। ^{१३}म्वानाचवनेगु हे नं व्यर्थ थें जुल।

२ ^१पुनखुं मैचापिनि धौं चोलेचा छह्म लहिनातःगु दु। ^२पुनखुं मैचाया सुथय् बहनी छैय् मावको ज्या यानाः नं न्हिनय् धौंचोलेचा जःवनेमाः। ^३व धौंचोलेचा धाःसा साप भाय् सिउ, तसकं गुण दु। ^४पुनखुं मैचायात जुयाचवंगु फुकक दुःखया खं वं बांलाक थू। ^५अकिं पुनखुं मैचा खनाः वया माया वं, कन्नाचाः। ^६पुनखुं मैचा न्हियान्हिथं गंसि जुया वनाचवंगु खनाः छन्हु वं जयेयंकातःबले माय्कें पोकिजा ल्हवयाः पुनखुं मैचायात नकल। ^७जा नये मखंगु गुलि दयेधुकल। ^८थौ धौं चोलेचां आपुलुखं माय्कें पोकिजा ल्हवयाः (नकूगुलिं) लय्लय्तायाः सवाःकाकां नल। ^९अनंलि व धौं चोलेचां न्हिन्हिं थथे माय्कें पोकिजा ल्हवयाः पुनखुं मैचायात नकेगु यानाचवन। ^{१०}पुनखुं मैचा स्वस्वं ल्हवनाः प्वात्याप्वात्या चवनावल। ^{११}धयः, दुरु, नयाचवंह वया केहें सिकं हे स्वयेजिल।

३ ^१धयः, दुरु, नकाः नं छुं ज्या मयाकुसे याउँक तयातयाह्म थः म्हाय्सिकं दंसेनिसें मद्यंतले ज्या याकाः नं हिमो जक नकातयाह्म न्हासुम्हाय् स्वयेजिउगु खनाः चिहिमांम्हेस्या नुगलय् अनेक खं ल्हाः। ^२सुथय् व बहनी ला छैय् चवनाः थःगु हे मिखाया न्हाणे पुनखुं मैचां ज्या यानाचवनीगु। ^३न्हिने सम्म पिहां वनाः धौंचोलेचा जःवनीगु। ^४अबले हे वं छुं याइगु ला धकाः वयात शंका वन। ^५अकिं वं छन्हु थः म्हाय्यात पुनखुं मैचा धौंचोलेचा जःवनीथाय् "छ नं नाप्पं हुं" धकाः खं स्यन। ^६मामं स्यंथें वं पुनखुं मैचायात धौंचोलेचा

जःवनेत्यंबले "योता, जि नं वये" धकाः झकरा यात। ^७तताम्हेस्यां व्वना यंकेंगु खं मल्हाः।
^८केहेंह व्वनायंकल कि धौंचोलेचां ल्हवयाबीगु माय्कें पोकिजा नयेछिनी मखु। ^९तर,
 केहेंहस्यां धाःसा "जि नं वये" कि "जि नं वये" धकाः तिप्पा हे नकाच्चन। ^{१०}केहेंहस्यां
 थुभनं जिदि यासेलि वं धाल- "वये धकाः जिदि ला यात, तर खि फायेतांजुल धाये
 दइमखुनि" धाल। ^{११}"दय्, धायेमखु" धकाः केहेंहस्यां धाल। ^{१२}"धालं छु जुल ले? ^{१३}धाःसा
 फाके यंकि रे" धकाः चमाजुम्हेस्यां नरथक्क हक्कल। ^{१४}अकिं पुनखुं मैचां केहेंहसित
 व्वनायंकें हे माल।

४ ^१केहेंहसित नं व्वनाः पुनखुं मैचा धौं चोलेचा जःवन। ^२न्हापालिपा जूसा छ्यलय्
 थ्यंकाः भचा जायेव हे धौं चोलेचां माय्कें पोकिजा ल्हवयाबीगु। ^३थौं केहेंह नं दुगुलिं वया
 ल्हवयाबी मछिनाः पुनखुं मैचायागु ख्वाः जक पुलुपुलु स्वयाच्चन। ^४पुनखुं मैचाया नं थौं
 माय्कें पोकिजा नयेछिनी मखुत धकाः निरास जुयाः ख्वाः खिउँक तयाच्चन। ^५केहेंह धाःसा
 ततां गुगु मजिउ, मत्थो धाल वहे यायेमाःह्वा। ^६अकिं छ्यलय् थ्यंकाः धौपलख जायेव हे खि
 फायेतांजुल धकाः हाल। ^७ध्वहे मौका खः धकाः मतिइ तयाः पुनखुं मैचां केहेंहसित छकः
 हक्कल अले हुंकन सिमाया ल्यूने फाःहुं धकाः उज्यांथ्यंक च्वंगु सिमा छमा पचिनं सुयाः
 कयन। ^८केहेंह वनाः सिमां किकाः खि फानाच्चन। ^९तर, वं ततां छुछु याइ धकाः चिवा
 कयाः मिखा हे लिमकासे स्वयाच्चन। ^{१०}धौं चोलेचां वहे मौका लाकालिका माय्कें पोकिजा
 हा फ्वालां वयेक ल्हवयाबिल। ^{११}पुनखुं मैचां हथाय्चाचां ल्वाकाल्वाकां नल। ^{१२}धौं चोलेचां
 ल्हवःगु व ततां म्हुतु पाकुपाकु संकाः नःगु खनाः केहेंह "जितः नं, जितः नं" धाधां
 इप्पःनुयाः व्वावल। ^{१३}केहेंह वःगु खनेव पुनखुं मैचां माय्कें पोकिजा काचाकाचां सुचुकल।
^{१४}केहेंहस्यां वयाः "छं छु नयागु हां तता? ^{१५}जितः नं ति रे, जि नं नये, नयेपित्यात"
 धाल। ^{१६}"छुं मनया, नया सा छंत बि हे बी नि, छंत मदयेक जिं जक नइ ला" धकाः
 पुनखुं मैचां ह्येकल। ^{१७}तर केहेंह पत्याः मजू। ^{१८}"छं नःगु हे खः हा फ्वालां वयेक नःगु
 जिं हुंकननिसें खं; जितः नं ति, नयेपित्यात" धकाः केहेंहस्यां मिखाय् दंक ख्वबि तयाः
 ख्वखना सः पिकयाहल। ^{१९}वया छु याये छु याये जुल। ^{२०}बीला धाःसा छेंय् कनाबी, मबीला
 धाःसा हथ्या यात। ^{२१}केहेंयात गुलि ह्येकलं नं ह्यःगु मखु। ^{२२}"जितः नं हति, जि नं नये,
 नयेपित्यात" धकाः हालाच्चंगु दु, दु। ^{२३}आखिरय् गुलि धाल नं, गुलि ह्येकलं नं केहेंहस्यां
 खं मन्यसेलि वं धाल- "अबुमांपित कनेमुख खःला ले? ^{२४}कन धाःसा छंत जिं हानं गबले
 हे व्वनाहये मखु।" ^{२५}सत्य सत्य कनेमखु, धरोधर्म कनेमखु धकाः पाःफयेकुसेलि वयात नं
 धौंचोलेचां ल्हवयाबिउगु माय्कें पोकिजा नकल। ^{२६}चिवा काःवयाच्चम्हेस्यां न्हाक्को
 पाःफयेकूसां पाप धर्मया च्यूताः गनं तइ धकाः! ^{२७}वं ला नयेफक्को नयेधुंकाः जा छगः व
 माय्कें छपु लुसिया कापिइ स्वचाकातल।

५ ^१धौंचोलेचा जयगयेव पुनखुं मैचा केहें नं व्वनाः छेंय् लिहां वल। ^२केहें ह्हेस्यां
 ताप्यंक वनाः मांहेसित लुसिया कापिइ सुचुका हयागु जा व कें कयन। ^३मांहा छत्थुं मि

जुल। ४"थथे नयेदयाः धकाः व पुनखुं मैचा फा ल्हवथेल्हवगु; आसे रे आसे, जिं सिउका वैत यायेगु" धयाः थत्थायसलं हाल। ५थःमं नकेमाःगु नं मखु, त्वंकेमाःगु नं मखु। ६अयुनं न्हासुम्हायया भिं जूगु वया मिखा बागलं स्वयेयःगु मखु। ७अकिं भाःत दुहां वयेव छगू तोह चिनाः धौंचोलेचा स्यायगु खं न्हाथन। ८भाःतह धायेगु जक, कलातं धाःगु खंय् नाइनास्ति यायेफुह मखु। ९अकिं कन्हेकुन्हु हे धौंचोलेचा स्यायेगु खं कोछित।

६ १थःत कन्हे स्याइगु जुल धयागु खं धौंचोलेचां सिल। २अकिं वं पुनखुं मैचायात धाल- "जिं माय्कें पोकिजा ल्हवयाः छंत नकातयागु खं छिमि केहैनं वया मांयात कनाबीधुकल। ३आः कन्हे हे जितः स्याइगु जुल। ४जिगु ला दयेकाः सकसिनं नइ। ५तर, छं नयेमते। ६ति नं त्वनेमते। ७बरू छं न्हात्थे यानाःसां जिगु क्वें यंकाः यःमहिमाय् थुनाब्बु। ८जिं धैथे जक या, छं छुं धन्ना कायेम्वाः जय हे जुइ।" ९धौंचोलेचायागु खं न्यनाः पुनखुं मैचां तस्सकं नुगः मछिकला १०थ्व संसारय् वया सुं दुसा वहे धौंचोलेचा। ११मांबौनं थें माया यानाः वयात नके त्वंके याभातःगु। १२चमाजुया जालय् लानाः व धौंचोलेचा नं मदइगु जुल। १३अकिं नुगः मछिकाः व हिहिललं ख्वल। १४तर ख्वयां छु याये! १५चमाजुया लौह नुगः नाइगु मखु। १६बौम्ह ला कलाःया पर्सिमोलय् दुहां वनाच्चने धुकूह हे जुल। १७व ख्वये फक्को ख्वल। १८ख्वख्वं हे न्हाः वयेका छ्वत।

७ १कन्हे जुल। २धौंचोलेचायात स्यानाः ला दयेकल। ३पुनखुं मैचा कोथां हे पिहां मवः। ४सकस्यां न्हिलेव, व छम्हेस्या ख्वयेवः। ५ला बुत। ६सकस्यां नल। ७न्हिन्हिं हिमो जक नकातःम्हेसित ला गनं नकी! ८अयुनं थःपिनि नयेफक्को नयेधुंकाः गिजेयायेथें यानाः चमाजुम्हेस्यां माया वं पहलं "अय् मै? ला छकू नःवा" धयाछ्वत। ९पुनखुं मैचां "जि नये मय, मो स्याः प्वाः स्याः" धयाहल। १०वयागु लिसः न्यनाः सकलें ह्वारं न्हिल। ११हानं "ति भचा जक त्वंवा" धाल। १२पुनखुं मैचां "ति नं त्वने मय, मो स्याः प्वाः स्याः" धयाहल। १३हानं सकलें ह्वारं न्हिल। १४अले "क्वें वाःवनेत छकः ला वा" धयाछ्वत। १५"दय्, नु वल" धयाः पुनखुं मैचा थाहां वन। १६दक्कोदक्को क्वैं मुनायंकाः धौंचोलेचां धाःथें यःमहिमाय् थुनाथकल।

८ १उकुन्हु न्हिच्छि पुनखुं मैचां छुं नःगु नं मखु, त्वंगु नं मखु। २ख्वजक ख्वयाः न्हि छ्यात। ३कन्हे कुन्हु धौंचोलेचायागु क्वें थुनाथकूथाय् स्वःवंबले भराय्मागु यःमहिमाय् ज्वांय्ज्वांय् यःमहि सयाच्चन। ४पुनखुं मैचां महिमाय् गयाः यःमहि खाखां नल। ५अबले लाक्क लाखे लसिं निह्व वल। ६पुनखुं मैचां यःमहि खाखां नयाच्चवंगु खनाः इपिं सिमा क्वे वयाः "अय् माजु माजु, जिमित नं यःमहि छगः कुर्काहति" धाल। ७पुनखुं मैचां "खीसंका, च्वेसंका" धयाः यःमहि कुर्काबिल। ८"खी लात माजु माजु, मेगु छगः कुर्काहति" धाल। ९"खीसंका, च्वेसंका" धयाः हानं मेगु कुर्काबिल। १०"च्वे लात माजु माजु, क्वे हे वयाः ब्यूवा" धाल। ११धात्थें क्वे हे वनाः बी धकाः वंबले लाखेलसितेसं वयात लुचुकक बुया यंकल।

९. १लोखेलसितेसं पुनखुं मैचायात बुयाः थःगु छैय् यंकल। २वयात इमिसं साप माया-
यानाः वयन। ३इमिसं धाल- "जिमि सुं दुगु मखु। ४जा छपे थुयाः, महि छपा छुनाः नकीपिं
हे नं मरू। ५अकिं हे छंत हयागु। ६आः जिमि काय् धाःसां, म्हाय् धाःसां, छय् धाःसां, छुइ
धाःसां छहे जुल। ७छं थन याउँक च्वनाः न। ८जिपिं मोल्हुयाः वये, छं महि छुनाच्वै!" धाल।
९अथे धयाः माःगु छुचुंछाचुं पिकयाः वयात स्यने कने यानाः इपिं मोल्हुयावये धकाः पिहां
वन। १०पुनखुं मैचाया छुचुं न्हायाः भुतुलिइ मिच्याकाः धमाधम महि छुत। ११अबले हे
"च्वीं च्वीं" हालः छुं छम्हेस्यां वयाः थथे धाल- "खँ छता ल्हायेयःसा महि छपा च्वी!"
१२छुं-छु खँ ल्हायेधाःगु जुइ धकाः पुनखुं मैचां वयात महि छपा बिल। १३छुं महि ज्वनाः
वने। १४घौपलख जायेकाः हानं "च्वीं च्वीं" हालः वल। १५हानं, "खँ छता ल्हायेयःसा महि
छपा च्वी" धाल। १६हानं पुनखुं मैचां महि बिल। १७छुं महि ज्वनाः वन। १८घौपलख
जायेकाः हानं वयाः अथे हे "खँ छता ल्हायेयःसा महि छपा च्वी" धाल। १९थुकुसी नं पुनखुं
मैचां वयात महि बिया हे छवत। २०स्वकः तक महि यंके धुंकाः प्यकःया कुसी छुं वयाः
थथे धाल- "जिं छंत खँ ल्हाये धैगु छु धाःसा थव छैय् च्वपि बुद्धानुहित लाखेलसिं। २१इपिं
"मोल्हुइ" धकाः वन। २२तर, "मोल्हुइ" धकाः छंत ह्येका वंगु। २३इपिं ला चुपि जयेकः
वंगु। २४हंचा छंगु ला ध्यनाः नयेगु इमि बिचार। २५अकिं छ थन च्वनेमते, याकनहे
बिसिहुं। २६थुलि धयाः व चुल्ल वन। २७घौपलख जायेकाः हानं "च्वींच्वीं" हालः
ताःचाप्वाय् छप्वाय् ज्वनाः वल। २८धाल- "ना थव ताःचाप्वाय्। २९थुकिं लाखेलसितेगु
कोथाय् ताःचायेकाः इमिगु धनसम्पत्ति गुलि फु उलि ज्वनाः हुं। ३०वने न्दो स्वाने त्वाथः
पत्ति ई छपातः फानाः हेंगवाः छकू छकू तयाथकि।"

१० १पुनखुं मैचायात माःगु सल्हा बियाः छुं वन। २छुंयागु खँ न्यनाः वयागु म्हम्हि गरखेसे
च्वनावल। ३ताःचाप्वाय् ज्वनाः काचाकाचां लाखेलसितेगु कोथापत्तिं चायेकाः स्वःवन। ४छू
कोथाय् हेराया हेरा जक, छगू कोथाय् पन्नाया पन्ना जक। ५अथे हे गुगुं कोथाय् लुंया लुं,
मुगुं कोथाय् वहःया वहः जक। ६पुनखुं मैचां हेरा मोती लुं वहः कयाः थःगु गाय् पोचित।
७अले छुं धाःथे स्वाने त्वाथःपत्ति ई छपातः छपातः फानाः हेंगवाः छकू छकू तल। ८अनलि
पो मफुमफु बेकुंच्यानाः मूलुखाया खापा गल्लाक तिनाः खवः ग्वयाः क्वे नं थःत्तं हे ज्वनाः
भाताभाता वन। ९लाखेलसितं छैय् वःबले खापा मचाः। १०खापा घाराघारा यात। ११तर,
न्दसःलिसः छुं मरू। १२अले इमिसं "अय् मै!" धकाः सःतल। १३ईनं "हइ!" धाल। १४"खापा
खंवा धकाः लाखेलसितेसं धाल। १५हेंगवालं "दय्!" धाल। १६लाखेलसिते मतिइ खापा खंवइन
धकाः च्वन। १७तर गबेत जायाः नं वःगु मखु। १८हानं इमिसं "अय् मै!" धकाः सःतल।
१९ईनं "है!" धाल "खापा खंवा" धकाः इमिसं धाल। २०हेंगवालं "दय्!" धयाहल। २१सःतूपत्तिं
"हइ" नं धाः "दय्" नं धाः। २२तर खापा धाःसा खंवःगु मखु। २३गोकःमछि "दय् दय्" जक
धयाः नं मवः गुलिं लाखे लसितेसं तं पिकयापाकया खापा हे लिनाः वन। २४थहां वनाः
स्वःबले पुनखुं मैचा छत्तिं मरू। २५इमिगु धन सम्पत्ति नं गावकं पाःजुगया च्वंगु खन।

११ ^१पुनखुं मैचा छै थ्यं बले द्यो लिबाये धुंकल। ^२वया मांबोपिं बेलि याना: नं द्यं वने धुंकल। ^३पुनखुं मैचा न्हिच्छि दुहां मवःगुलिं वइ हे मखुतजुइ धका: च्वन। ^४“वःसां दुकाये मखु” धका: बिचा: याना: न्हापालिपा स्वया: थौं भचा: न्हाथ्याक हे खापाखिपा स्वत्ताक तिना: द्यंवंगु। ^५अय्सां इमि न्हा: मवःनि। ^६पुनखुं मैचां वया: गुलि सःतलं नं “हं” हे मधा:। ^७लिपा पुनखुं मैचां “जि भ्यातुल, याकनं खापा खंवा” धासेलि “छु ज्वनावल थें” धका: चमाजुम्हेस्यां वाथाइथिं दना: खापा खंवल। ^८तले थ्यनेव पुनखुं मैचां “स्वये, याकन गा छपु ला” धाल। ^९चमाजुम्हेस्यां गा लायाबीव पो फ्यना: हेरा मोती लुं वह: ध्वारारारा प्वकाबिल। ^{१०}अपाय्सकं हेला याना: नकें स्याना तयाह्व न्हासुम्हाय् नं उलिमछि धन सम्पत्ति ज्वना: वःगु खना: चमाजुम्हेस्यां नुग: मुल। ^{११}तर नुगःयागु खँ नुगलय् स तया: वं पुनखुं मैचायात व धन गन कयाहयागु, गय् याना: कयाहयागु धका: कुत्तुकुला: न्यन। ^{१२}पुनखुं मैचा नं फुकक-खँ कनाबिल। ^{१३}खँ न्यने धुंका: थ: म्हाय्यात नं हेरा मोती कायेके छ्वयेगु ग्वसा: ग्वया: उकुन्हुं द्यं वन।

१२ ^१कन्हे कुन्हु चमाजुम्हेस्यां थ: म्हाय्यात फुकक खँ स्यन। ^२म्हायह्व वना: यःमहिमाय् गयाच्वन। ^३लाखेलसिंत वया: यःमहि फ्वंवल। ^४वं नं यःमहि कुकाबिल। ^५लाखेलसितेसं “खी लात, च्वय् लात, क्वहां वया: बिउवा” धायेव वं क्वहां वया बिउवल। ^६लाखेलसितेसं वयात बुया: थःपिनि छैय् यंकल। ^७पुनखुं मैचायात थें वयात नं “महि छुनाच्वं! जिपिं मोल्हुयावये” धया: लाखेलसिं निम्हं पिहां वन। ^८वया महि छुत। ^९अबले हे वहे न्हापायाह्व छुं “च्वीच्वी” हाला: पिहां वया: न्हापाथें “खँ छता ल्हायेयःसा महि छपा च्वी” धाल। ^{१०}वं छुंयात महि बिल। ^{११}छुं महि ज्वना: प्वाल्य् दुहां वन। ^{१२}भचा जायेका: हानं पिहां वया: अथे हे धाल। ^{१३}वया मतिइ छुं महि कायेधुनेव वयात खँ ल्हाइ धका: च्वन। ^{१४}तर, छुं धा:सा महि जक ज्वना: वन, छुं खँ ल्हा:गु मखु। ^{१५}हानं वया: अथे हे धा:गुलिं “आ: ला धाइला” धका: हाकनं महि छपा बिल। ^{१६}तर, आ: नं छुं खं मल्हा:। ^{१७}वय तं पिहां वल। ^{१८}हानं वल धा:सा थ्वहे नालां पुकाछ्वये धया: नाला भुतुलिइ छुयातल। ^{१९}छुं वल। ^{२०}“खँ छता ल्हायेयः सा महि छपा च्वी” धाल। ^{२१}तर, वं महि बीया पलेसा ह्याउँसे च्वंगु नालां च्वय्क धायेक पुकाबिल। ^{२२}छुं “च्वी च्वी” हाला: प्वाल्य् दुहां वंहा हाकनं पिहां वःगु हे मखु।

१३ ^१लाखेलसिं दुहां वल। ^२महि छुनातःगु खना: इपिं लय्ताल। ^३नयेनी यात। ^४बहनी जुसेलि “द्यं वनेत्यल” धका: मचायात नं व्वना: कोथाय् वन। ^५वयात दथुइ थ्यना: लाखेलसिंत जवंखवं द्यन। ^६मचाया स्याक्क न्हा:वसेलि लाखेनं वयागु प्यंपाय् चुपिं च्वय्क ला द्यना: नल। ^७मचा “आयाबाबा” धका: हाल। ^८“छाय् पुता, छाय्? बाज्यां कुतिन्यात ला? ” धका: लसिनं घय्पुया: उसिससि याकल। ^९भचा जायेका: वया न्हा: वल धका: सीवं लसिनं वयागु मेगु प्यंपाय् धवांयेक ला द्यना: नल। ^{१०}“आयाबाबा, अजिं कुतिन्यात” धका: व हाल। ^{११}“अजिं कुतिन्यात ला? ^{१२}वयाथाय् स्वये हे मते! वा, थुखे वा!” धया: लाखेनं

थःपाखे स्वकाः उसिउसि याकल। १३घौपलख जायेव व सुम्क च्वन। १४अले हानं लाखेनं ला
ध्यनाः नल। १५लसिनं ह्येकल। १६ह्येकुह्येकुं ला ध्यनाः नल। १७थुकथं लाख् नं छकः
छकः लसिनं छकः छकः वयागु ला ध्यैध्यं ननं कंलाय् जक जुइक नल।

१४ १मांहेस्या "म्हाय् धनपो ज्वनाः वइतिनि" धकाः खापा मत्युसे ध्वाकार्थे चायेकाः थः
नं भ्यालय् च्वंच्वन। २तर, म्हाय् वःगु मखु। ३तोप तल मवः, बाचा जाल मवः, स्वफः जाल
अयूनं मवः। ४अय् जुजुं द्योतुइल। ५अयूनं मवः। ६तर, म्हाय् अवश्य वइतिनि धयागु आस।
७अकिं जाजि थुल, नल। ८अले कःसिइ च्वनाः सत्ताः यात। ९अबले हे को छम्ह वयाः
कुंपाय् जुनाः "मांया सत्ताः सत्ताः, म्हाय्या कंलाय् कंलाय्" धकाः हालाच्वन। १०"छु धकाः
न्यनान्यने मजीक हालाच्वंगु ध्व अलिछनाःह्म को" धयाः ख्यानाछ्वत। ११तर, को हानं
वयाः अनहे जुनाः "मांया सत्ताः सत्ताः, म्हाय्या कंलाय् कंलाय्" धकाः हाल। १२थुकुसी वं
कोयात ख्याना मछ्वसे को हाःगु क्वथीक न्यन। १३"कंलाय् कंलाय्" धकाः को हाःगु
न्यनाः म्हाय् लुमन। १४पलिइ वनाः स्वःबले हुंकन लाखेलसिया छैय् म्हाय्यागु कंलाय्
पानातःगु खन। १५अले व नुगःपाचय् दादां खल।

१५ १उलिंचा बाखं थुलिं।

THE GEO-DEMOGRAPHIC CONTEXT OF POPULATION AGEING IN NEPAL

Bhim P. Subedi

Central Department of Geography
Tribhuvan University

Introduction

Population ageing normally refers to an increase in the proportion of population aged 60 (or 65) years. Although ageing is defined in terms of specific age, the underlying concern is the functional status of senior individuals rather than their chronological age. The issue is rather concerned with the old-age disabilities and that one's condition as aged depends on personal health, sex, employment, and socio-economic status. Thus, it is important to recognize that studies of elderly or aged population are concerned with the status of ageing and not the specific age. The specific age cut-offs commonly used in the literature to assess the state of elderly are for statistical convenience (Mason, 1992).

Population ageing is becoming a worldwide phenomenon and contrary to the popular belief ageing is not limited to countries such as Europe, North America, former USSR, Japan, Australia and New Zealand which are classified as 'developed' by standard classification. The proportion of population aged 65 and above in Uruguay, Argentina, Cuba, Grenada, and Macau clearly shows this. In fact, in the 1980s, the growth rate of aged population was 2.4 percent per annum in the world and is much higher than the overall growth rate of population i.e., 1.7 percent (Torrey, Kinsella, and Tacuber, 1987). The customary basis of population to be considered 'getting younger' or 'older' is its proportion in the respective age groups. The proportion and the pace of change are the important aspects for considering a population as 'ageing', but more important for policy perspective is the overall context within which the population is 'ageing.' Therefore, it is important to assess the proportion in the demographic and socioeconomic context of the country.

Ageing is an emerging issue in Nepal. Its tempo is expected to be unexpectedly fast as mortality continues to decline and life expectancy continues to increase (Subedi, 1996). A small increase in the size of aged (disables) brings an added hardship to the already troubled economy at the macro-level let alone the subsequent quality of life of the aged. It is because the economic growth here has been awfully discouraging (Banskota, 1992; see also, Blaikie et al, 1981). There is an absolute dearth of literature that deals with the elderly population in Nepal so far. Sharma (1982) based on the situation of 1970s made some preliminary observations of old age population in the first place but the context and magnitude of elderly has changed significantly since then. Goldstein, Schuler and Ross (1983) studied the intergenerational relations in extended families showing the miserable situation of elderly. Karki (1994) also touched on the rudiments of ageing as an issue.

Most recently, Subedi (1996) analyzed the geographical pattern of population ageing in Nepal and argued that the sheer size and changes therein meant that ageing is an eminent problem in the country. The details, however, are yet to be analyzed. In this context, this paper attempts to analyze the state of elderly population with some relevant context within which the population is ageing in Nepal. The discussion of manifold contexts of population ageing is beyond the scope of this paper. As a result, this paper is limited to, mainly the demographic and partially socioeconomic context of population ageing in Nepal.

The paper is divided into four sections. The first section introduces the issue and reviews the related studies. The second section deals with the state and growth of aged population along with their distribution by gender and place of residence. The third section discusses the demographic and socio-economic context of population ageing in Nepal using available data from recent censuses. The last section concludes the paper with some indications of policy implications.

Ageing of Nepali Population

For the purpose of this paper individuals aged 60 and over are considered aged or elderly. This cut-off, instead of 65 years and above, is based on four main considerations: a) the retirement age used in Nepali civil service (58 years), b) the expectation of life at birth (54 years), c) a large proportion of population below 60 years reporting economically not active because of old age in Population Census 1991 and, d) the upper age limit normally used in calculating economically active population (59 years). The implicit assumption behind this is that individuals grow physically weaker and/or

older earlier in countries where nutritional level is low plus access and affordability to medical and other health facilities are limited than in most developed countries. In addition, the age cut-off for elderly population varies across the countries and over time. While most international agencies use population aged 65 and over as elderly population there are countries and small scale studies where population aged 50 and over are considered elderly (see, Martin, 1990).

Growth of Aged Population

The most important indicator of the state of population ageing in Nepal is its volume and trend of growth. Other indicators such as index of ageing proportion are dependent on the proportion of youths and the level of fertility and thus may camouflage the extent of the problem of aged population. The size of aged population has been growing in Nepal. It grew from a total of 409,761 in 1952/54 to 1,071,234 in 1991. Within the last forty years i.e. between 1952/54 and 1991, the volume of aged population increased by 161 percent (Table 1). The decennial increase has been consistently over 25 percent. The increase is more significant over the last two decades and that an elderly population of 1.1 million is a significant volume in the socio-economic setting of Nepal.

Table 1: Growth of Aged Population (1952/54-1991)

Census Year	Total	Proportion (%)	Growth rate of aged	Growth rate of total population
1952/54	409,761	5.0	—	—
1961	489,346	5.2	1.79	1.4
1971	621,597	5.4	2.42	2.07
1981	857,061	5.7	3.26	2.67
1991	1,071,234	5.8	2.26	2.1

Source: Population Census, Nepal: 1952/54, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991.

The proportion is consistently over five percent in all the five censuses. The proportional increase appeared rather gradual i.e. from 5.0 percent in 1952/54 to 5.8 percent in 1991 (Table 1). However, this increase is significant in the context of usual expectation of either stagnant or declining proportion of aged population when the total population in the country is characterized by 'young age structure' and is considered 'getting younger' over the years.

A comparison of growth of elderly population with the national population growth rate suggests that both population have been growing consistently over the last four decades. The rate of growth of elderly population is much faster than the average growth rate of total population of the kingdom (Table 1). With improvement in the modern health facilities and increase in life expectancy over the years the rate of growth of aged population can be higher than normally shown by the current trend. More importantly, recent decades primarily the 1970 and onwards have witnessed the high rate of growth of elderly in Nepal. One implication of this high growth rate is that the number of elderly will double in less than 27 years. More specifically, if the growth rate continues at the rate manifested by 1981 census, the total elderly population will double in less than 22 years. Similarly, if the growth rate between 1981-1991 is adjusted for the estimated under-enumeration (approx. 4 percent) this only suggests the continued rapid growth of aged population in Nepal.

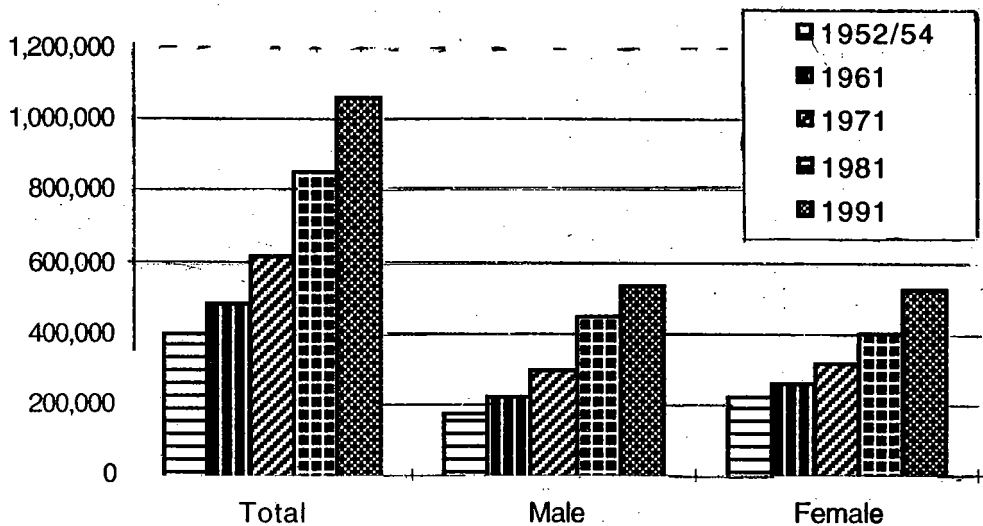
The gender composition of aged population has changed over the last four decades. Females outnumbered males in three earlier censuses including 1952/54, 1961, and 1971. The 1981 census recorded a turn around with males outnumbering females. This trend continued in 1991 census. Thus, in the 1990s there are more elderly males than females. This has happened despite females outnumbering males in the total population of the country.

From 1950s to 1990s there has been a steady growth in the proportion of both male and female elderly in Nepal. In 1952/54 elderly male comprised 2.2 percent of total population, by 1991 this percent reached 2.9 percent (Table 2). Similarly, female elderly constituted 2.8 percent of the total population in 1952/54 and 2.9 percent in 1991. This may provide an impression that there is almost no growth of female elderly in Nepal. This is not true. That proportion of elderly is reflection of change in total population which has grown over 2.0 percent per annum during the last four decades clearly shows that the population of elderly has grown.

Table 2: Growth of Aged Population by Gender (1952/54-1991)

Year	Total		Male		Female	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1952/54	409,761	5.0	182,394	2.2	227,367	2.8
1961	489,346	5.2	222,422	2.4	266,924	2.8
1971	621,597	5.4	297,763	2.6	323,834	2.8
1981	857,061	5.7	450,998	3.0	406,073	2.7
1991	1,071,234	5.8	542,738	2.9	528,496	2.9

Source: Population Census, Nepal: 1952/54, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991.

Fig.1: Growth of Aged Population in Nepal

The growth of elderly reflected by their proportion in the total population of the nation reveals little about the magnitude of change by gender and subsequent reformations. Between 1952/54 and 1991 there has been a three-fold increase in the population of elderly male whereas the corresponding increase of female elderly is 2.3 times only (Table 2). The absolute growth in number of elderly is more apparent for males than females. However, unlike ups and downs in the growth of male elderly, the growth of female elderly reflected in percent change over the census periods has been consistently rising.

The sharp increase and decline in percent change of elderly male during 1981 and 1991 are possibly a reflection of the political arithmetic of over/under enumeration in the respective censuses. Otherwise this phenomenon cannot be explained when no specific events and/or epidemic affecting either sexes severely have been recorded during these periods. A further justification is that this sharp turn over for males during 1981 and 1991 has occurred without corresponding influence in the rise or decline of female elderly.

Ageing by Rural Urban Residence

An overwhelming majority of aged population live in rural areas. This is because of the low level of urbanization (9.2 % in 1991) in the country as a whole. While rural areas comprise 92.1 percent of total elderly, the share of urban area is less than eight percent for 1991. The proportion of elderly living in urban areas was even lower in 1981. Of the total aged only 5.7 percent were from urban areas whereas 94.3 percent lived in rural areas (Table 3).

There are several interesting observations. Firstly, compared with the distribution of total population by rural urban residence, the distribution of aged population was disproportionate in both the population censuses of 1981 and 1991. According to 1991 census while 9.2 percent of total population were living in the urban areas, only 7.9 percent of elderly were from there. Likewise, in 1981, while 6.4 percent of the nation's total population were living in urban areas, the percentage of elderly living there was only 5.7 percent. Age selective migration to urban areas together with improved health facilities are partially responsible for the apparent gap.

Secondly, there was a turn around in the gender composition in urban areas. Contrary to the national and regional trend of male domination in 1991 which is also the trend in 1981, urban elderly in 1991 comprised of more females than males, a trend similar to that of developed countries. Thirdly, the absolute increase in size of urban elderly between 1981 and 1991 was unexpectedly very high i.e., from a size of 49,002 in 1981 to 84,701 in 1991 (an increase by 73 percent). This meant the aged population in urban areas grew at the rate of 5.6 percent per annum.

Table 3: Aged Population by Rural Urban Residence

Categories		Total		Male		Female	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Rural	1991	986,533	91.1	501,116	46.8	485,417	45.3
	1981	808,059	94.3	424,042	49.5	384,017	44.8
Urban	1991	84,701	7.9	41,622	3.9	43,079	4.0
	1981	49,002	5.7	26,946	3.1	22,056	2.6
Nepal	1991	1,071,234	100.0	542,738	50.7	528,496	49.3
	1981	857,061	100.0	450,988	52.6	406,073	47.4

Source: Population Census 1981 and 1991.

Females outnumbering males in the urban areas is mainly a reflection of decreasing maternal mortality rate, awareness of public health and sanitation, increased literacy, together with the concentration of health institutions and facilities in the urban areas. An increase in the life expectancy of urban residents has further relevance to the high rate of survival of urban women. The disadvantaged status of rural areas in all of these indicators collectively result into lower rate of survival of female population in general.

Ageing in Demographic and Socio-economic Perspective

Whether population ageing is something to be concerned can only be understood when the state and trend of growth of aged population is analyzed in the context of demographic and socio-economic landscape. The volume and proportion per se if compared with developed countries, may not warrant attention for many, the socio-economic landscape primarily the demographic context and changes therein makes it an eminent problem warranting a timely attention before aged people face serious humanitarian problems. As a result, the following section discusses the demographic context of ageing in Nepal.

Ageing and Vital Rates

The trend of population ageing is directly related to levels and trends of fertility and mortality and thereby to the stages of demographic transition. The level and trend of fertility and mortality based on crude birth and death rates, suggest that changes in fertility levels have been very slow whereas changes in mortality have been rapid. Mortality has clearly declined from a crude death rate of 36.7 per thousand in the 1950s to 13.3 per thousand in the 1990s (Table 4). Fertility has declined very little: from 45 per thousand crude birth rate in the 1950s to only 42.3 per thousand in the early 1990s. This gap clearly shows a demographic transition with birth rate remaining high (although towards decline) and death rate declining sharply. The net result has been rapid growth in the total population in the country (Figure 2).

Table 4: Measures of Fertility, Mortality and Ageing

Year	Crude birth rate (per thousand)	Crude death rate (per thousand)	Proportion of aged
1952/54	45.0	36.7	5.0
1961	48.0	27	5.2
1971	46.8 (1976)	19.5 (1974/75)	5.4
1981	44.0	13.5 (1971/81)	5.7
1991	42.3	13.3	5.8
1996	39.5	12.6	5.5*

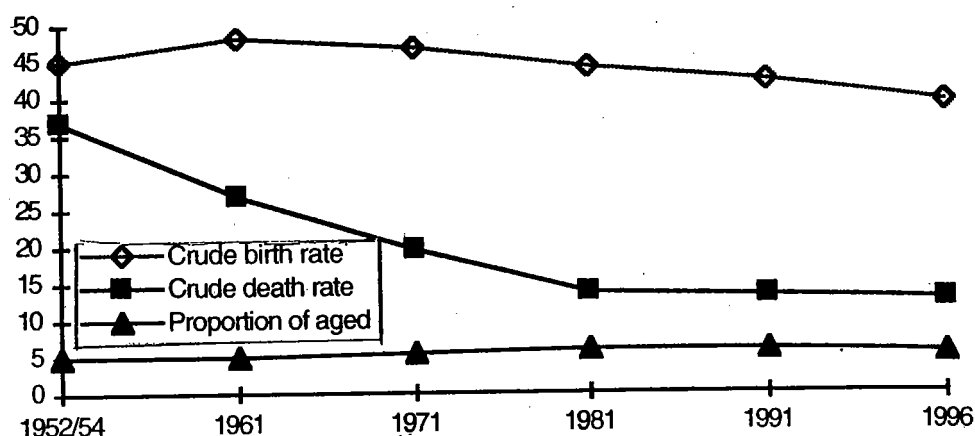
Notes:

The figures in parenthesis indicate year for which the specific vital rate is estimated.

The proportion of aged for 1996 is calculated on population projection made by the Central Bureau of Statistics, 1995.

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics 1991, National Planning Commission, 1994

Fig.2: Changing Birth and Death Rates and the Proportion of Aged



While both the birth and death rates are declining the proportion of aged population has been increasing (Figure 2). The proportional increase in the aged population is significant. This is because disproportionate decline in birth and death rates resulting into an addition of a large population of young population and not the aged. When the proportion of aged increases in this context that must be considered important. More importantly, when fertility falls rapidly, i.e. fewer addition in the young age groups, the subsequent increase in the proportion of aged becomes very distinct. For 1996, the estimated crude birth rate (CBR) is 39.5 per thousand which is lower by 2.8 percentage point compared with 1991. The CBR estimates of 1981(44.0), 1991(42.3) and 1996 (39.5) also suggest that the decline in fertility is also taking momentum. In the context of ageing if these trends of vital rates in the country and the experiences of developed countries (see Albert and Cattell, 1994) are any indications, the pace of increase in the proportion of aged will be much faster in the years to come.

Ageing and Changing Age Structure

The trifactor graph (Fig. 3) showing three interdependent dimensions, suggests that age structure changes in Nepal are taking place fast. The proportion of both the young and the aged has been increasing, the proportion of economically active population is shrinking. The expanding and shrinking of respective age groups has taken place consistently over that last four decades. The population of youths has gone up from 38.4 percent

in 1952/54 to 42.4 percent in 1991. On the contrary, during the same period the percentage share of mature population has gone down from 56.6 percent to 51.8 percent (Table 5). In these two extremes of ups and downs which is already an indicative of increasing burden to the mature cohorts i.e., economically active age groups, the percentage of the aged population has been on the rise. The trifactor graph clearly demonstrates this for the last four decades.

Table 5: Age Structure by Broad Categories (1952/54-1991)

Census Year	Percentage of Population with Ages		
	0-14	15-59	60 and Over
1952/54	38.4	56.6	5.0
1961	39.9	54.9	5.2
1971	42.1	52.5	5.4
1981	41.4	52.9	5.7
1991	42.4	51.8	5.8

Source: Population Census, Nepal: 1952/54, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991.

Ageing, Dependency Ratio and Median Age

The total dependency ratio of the country in 1952/54 was 76.7 which itself is a very high sum. While this value is unfavorable itself, it has increased rapidly and reached 93.0 within the last four decades. This makes the situation worse than ever before. Likewise, the aged dependency has been consistently increasing. In 1952/54, this ratio was only 8.8 but it reached 11.2 percent in 1991 (Table 6). This meant a continual increase in the dependency load to the economically active group while this proportion itself has been shrinking.

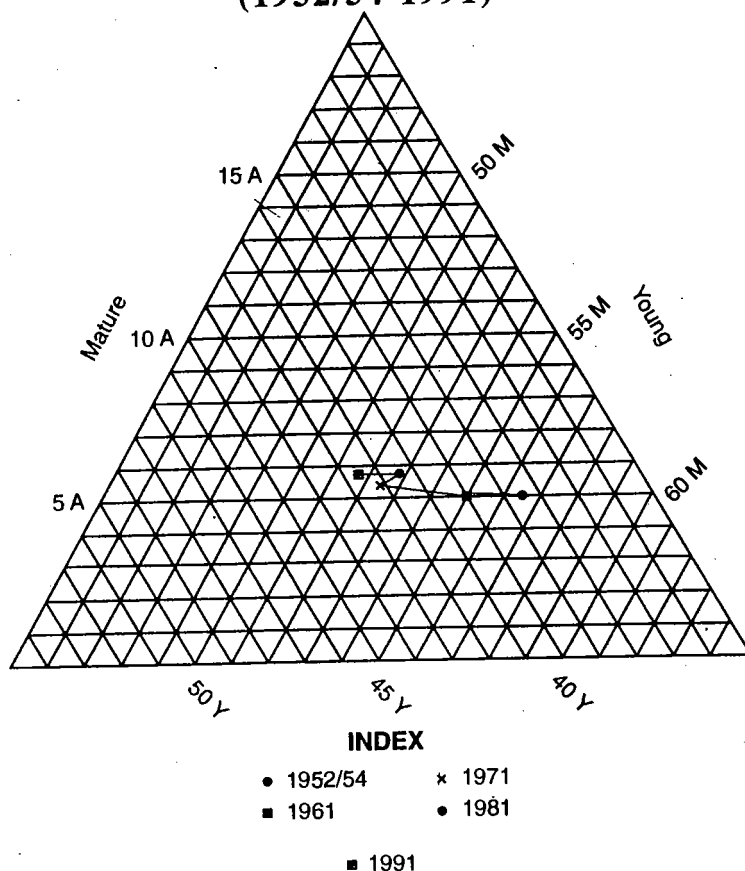
Table 6: Aged Dependency Ratio and Median Age

Census Year	Aged Dependency Ratio	Median age
1952/54	8.8	21.1
1961	9.5	20.9
1971	10.2	20.3
1981	10.8	19.9
1991	11.2	18.9

Note: Aged Dependency Ratio has been calculated as:

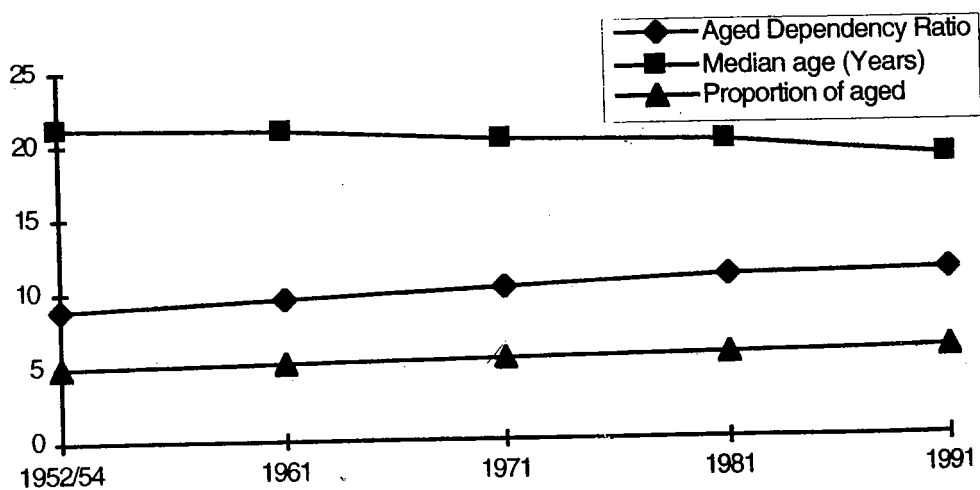
$\{(\text{Population aged 60 and above}) / \text{Population aged 15-59 years}\} * 100.$

Changing Age Structure of Population in Nepal (1952/54-1991)



Source: Population Census, Nepal: 1952/54, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991.

Fig.4: Aged Dependency Ratio, Median Age and Ageing



During the reference period the median age has gone down from 21.1 years to 18.9 years, a decline by 2.2 years (Figure 4). The median age is lower in the rural areas (18.7 years) where 92 percent of the nation's aged population live in the 1990s. Change in median has much to do with fertility levels. When fertility levels are high median age goes down. In normal circumstances, proportion of aged increases when the median age increases. An increase in the proportion of aged when median age is decreasing, is not a usual situation. This suggests that Nepal is facing a very critical age structure transition where on the one hand, the population is ageing, on the other hand, the proportion of young age group is as bad as it could be.

Dependency ratio and changes therein are important considerations in analyzing the economic and social support arrangement of the aged population. The same proportion of the aged may be a critical problem for one area and not for others. In general, lower value of dependency ratio is indicative of higher affordability of the society. In a situation of increasing proportion of economically active population the country is expected to be able to afford more dependent population no matter whether it is young or old. But the situation is reverse in the case of Nepal.

Ageing, Household Size and the Headship

Unlike western countries, majority of elderly in Nepal share residence with their children and other relatives. Shared residence is very important for family support especially among aged whose health conditions are poor. The co-resident family members assume caregiver role. This coresident living arrangement of elderly is indicative of family member's concern for elderly and attention paid to them. However, in a country dominated by Hindu ideals whether all coresident living arrangement of aged with their children and relatives in fact translates into proper attention and concern for elderly and how much of it is willingly and how much of it is by social pressure or else is beyond the scope of this paper.

A change in household size may provide a rough indication of living arrangement of elderly thereby concern. The average household size in the country was 5.8 persons in 1981. It has declined to 5.6 persons in 1991. The decrease in the size of household is indicative of family nucleation. Rapid decline in household size in a situation of continued high fertility however, may lead to an increase in the number of aged population living alone and/or with spouse only. This can deprive many aged from the extremely needed caregivers from within the household.

Table 7: Changing Distribution of Household Size

Year	Households by Size of Population						
	<4	4	5	6	7	8	>8
1981	21.6	14.2	15.8	14.5	11.2	7.7	15.0
1991	22.6	15.2	17.0	15.1	11.5	6.8	11.8

Source: Population Census 1981, 1991.

The distribution of households by size of population suggests that changes have taken place in the household sizes between 1981 and 1991. Those with three or less member households have increased. Likewise, the percentage of households with 8 or more members has declined. A sharp decline is evident in the percentage of households with more than 8 members i.e., from 15 percent to 11.8 percent (Table 7). On the other hand, households with their sizes of 4, 5, 6, and 7 have shown an increase. All of these indicate that house size in Nepal in general is on the decline. This decline has important implication in the family support provision of elderly.

Headship in the household is generally considered as "position" and a command of authority. Data from Population Census 1991 suggests that aged (senior by age) does not necessarily translate into headship of the household. Among total ageds only 51.1 percent are head of the household (546,986 out of 1,071,234). As usual, females suffer most. Only 22.1 percent of the total aged females are head of the household whereas the corresponding figure for males is 82.4 percent.

Of the total households only 16.4 percent are headed by aged individuals in 1991. Among households headed by aged, 81.8 percent are male headed and 18.2 percent female headed. When total households are taken into consideration, 86.8 percent are headed by males and only 13.2 percent by females. This change in the female headship (from 13.2 to 18.2) however, should not be considered an improvement in the "position" of females when most of the aged female-heads are widows and are only *de jure* heads. Traditionally, the elderly primarily the males have continued to control over household resources and that land is the primary resource. This control over the resources has served as the old-age security mechanism. The rapid changes currently taking place in the society may jeopardize this insurance against risk. Because of the age and disabilities that incurs with ageing, their ability to exercise authority decreases. For second generations and rural-urban migrants, occupational change i.e., from farming to off-farm sector, may also result into weakening of land based ties. In this situation,

while elderly become increasingly incapable to manage their lands, their off-springs will be less attracted to their rural land. This may result into mismanagement and lack of innovation in the lands left behind by the selective migrants which in turn puts elderly in the most precarious condition. Moreover, for the off-springs who are faced with increased hardship and competition, supporting their own children will be a big problem and their customary obligation to support parents (Sharma, 1982) will be pushed to the periphery.

Ageing and Life-expectancy

The association between life expectancy and the proportion of aged is strong. Studies elsewhere based on data from 145 countries suggests that the correlation between life expectancy and proportion of aged is 0.69 (Albert and Cattell, 1994). In Nepal, estimates have shown significant increase in life expectancy between 1950s and 1990s. Male life expectancy at birth has increased from 27.1 in the mid 1950s to 55.0 years in the early 1990s. Likewise, corresponding increase for female has been from 28.5 to 53.5 years. Increase in life-expectancy brings corresponding increase in the proportion of aged. The life-expectancy estimates for 1996 is 57 years for male and 56 years for female and it is expected to reach 62 and 62.5 years for males and females respectively by 2011 (CBS, 1994). This will obviously bring corresponding increase in the proportion of aged in the years to come.

Ageing and Migration

The total volume of migration within the country has increased significantly between 1981 and 1991. A similar increase is also evident in the case of rural-urban migration. Of the total urban residents 16.3 percent was rural-urban migrants in 1981. This proportion has increased to 17.2 percent in 1991 (see Subedi, 1996). Studies conducted in the 1980s have already reported a significant increase in size of internal migrants both rural to rural and rural to urban in the past three decades (see, Sharma, 1989). The trend demonstrated by these studies together with the deteriorating rural economy and lack of off-farm employment opportunities in rural areas is symptomatic that the volume of migration in general and rural-urban in particular, will continue to increase for some years to come. There are several implications of increased volume of migration whether it is internal or international. Because migration is selective and that many of them are headed to urban areas, the remaining in the rural areas are the aged, children and women. The aged, thus are left unattended by the economically active

population. This is to be noted that an analysis of age structure of internal migrants for 1981 suggests that approximately 70 percent belong to the age group of 15 to 59 years (K.C. 1994). Migration has left a bulk of aged population in a place (in the Hills) which is already in a disadvantaged position.

Although data on the affect of migration on land management and cropping intensity including productivity are not available for Nepal, one can argue that in the absence of able-bodied manpower the progressive improvement in land management primarily in the Hills may be thwarted. This has direct impact on the household income and elderly's control over the resources which in turn impedes the provision of support for ageds from the family.

Conclusion

Population ageing is a worldwide and a long-term trend. As the country passes through later stages of demographic transition, the pace of increase in the number and proportion of elderly becomes unexpectedly high. In Nepal, both the size and proportion of aged have constantly increased over the last four decades of which data are available. The proportion, however, may still be lower compared with many developed countries but even this small proportion is to be concerned especially when the size has increased by more than 2.6 times between 1952/54 and 1991 and the level of economic development in the country is poor.

Demographic indicators such as apparent decline in mortality, increase in life-expectancy, signs of decline in fertility, age structure transitions suggest that the proportion and number of ageing population will increase in the years to come. On the other hand socio-economic indicators such as change in household size, distribution of households by size of population, level of urbanization, and rural-urban migration suggest that the provision of family support to elderly, their position, control over resources may have been deteriorating. Indications are that the increasing number of ageds may find themselves in a socially and psychologically disadvantaged position in the years to come and as Goldstein, Schuler, and Ross (1983) report nor they have any savings in their old age. Analysis based on the proportion only camouflages the extent and context of growing elderly in Nepal. The increase in ageing population in Nepal will take place in a situation where the country is entirely ill-equipped to provide health care system stressing chronic diseases and curative health, has no social security system, has underdeveloped pension system (even if a negligible proportion is eligible), and is characterized by stagnant economy. The existing provision such as

pension which is limited to the retired civil servants, police and army officials who constitute insignificant portion of elderly in Nepal and NRs. 100.00 (one hundred) per month for those aged 75 or more leaves majority of aged (those between 60-74 years) without any support. More importantly, the care-giving generation, in the face of economic hardship and competition, are faced with difficult choices of providing basic needs and services for themselves, their children and/or their aged parents. The mere emotional support this generation could provide will be grossly insufficient when ageds are in the extreme need of both economic security and emotional support.

As much ageing is a global trend so is the trend of modernization. Modernization may be an welcome trend for most, but not necessarily for the aged in Nepal, if what gerontological theories suggest is true. Theories in gerontology suggest that the status of elderly declines with modernization and monetization (Cogwill, 1986; Cogwill and Holmes 1972). The continuing modernization and subsequent impoverishment of rural sector apparent in our society casts doubt on elderly's "position" and their ability to command economic and emotional support from their off-springs. A study by expatriates in Nepal has reported that "the economic situation of elderly adults differs from what one might infer from Hindu ideals (norms/values) and actual household composition (Goldstein, Schuler, and Ross, 1983: 722-23). This is an important issue and the effect of modernization to the family formation and thereby the status of elderly needs further investigation.

Our understanding of ageing issues in Nepal is very limited. The consequences ageing population and their social and economic implications are far reaching. For policy perspective, it is high time to investigate wide range of ageing issues such as living arrangements, economic, social, and health aspects of the elderly including the inter- generational competition for jobs, situation of widows/widower, elderly supporting mechanism if any, impact of eroding traditional beliefs and obligations on their livelihood and many others.

References

- Albert, Steven M. and Maria G. Cattell. 1994. *Old Age in Global Perspective: Cross-cultural and Cross-national Views*. New York: G.K. Hall & Co.
- Banskota, M. 1992. "An Overview of the Environment and the Economy," *Nepal Economic Policies for Sustainable Development*. Kathmandu: ICIMOD/ADB.

- Blaikie, P.M., J. Cameron and D. Seddon. 1982. *Nepal in Crisis: Growth and Stagnation at the Periphery*. New Delhi: Oxford.
- Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) *Population Projection for Nepal 1991-2011*. Kathmandu: CBS.
- Cogwill, D. 1986. *Ageing Around the World*. California: Wadsworth. and L.D. Holmes eds.
- . 1972. *Ageing and Modernization*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.
- Goldstein, M.C, S. Schuler, and J.L. Ross. 1983. Social and economic Forces Affecting Inter-generational Relations in Extended Families in a Third World Country: A Cautionary Tale from South Asia, *Journal of Gerontology*. 38: 716-724.
- Gurung, H. 1989. Regional Patterns of Migration In Nepal. Papers of the East-West Center Population Institute, Number 113. Honolulu: East West Center.
- Hugo, Graeme. 1986. Population Ageing in Australia: Implications for Social and Economic Policy. Papers of the East-West Population Institute, Number 98. Honolulu: East-West Center.
- Karki, N.B. 1994. The Ageing Issues in Population, *Vikas* (in Nepali). 14 (1): 99-106.
- KC, Bal K. 1994. "Population Distribution and Migration in Nepal," *Vikas* (in Nepali). 14 (1):23-48.
- Kuroda, Toshi. 1988. "Ageing of Labor Force and Technical Progress: The Japanese Experience," in United Nations, Economic and Social Implications of Population Ageing. New York:United Nations,pp. 145-158.
- Martin, Linda. 1990. The Status of South Asia's Growing Elderly Population, *Journal of Cross-Cultural Gerontology*. 5 (2): 93-117.
- Mason, Karen O.1992. Family Change and Support of the Elderly in Asia: What Do We Know?, *Asia-Pacific Population Journal*. 7 (3): 13-32.
- Sharma, P. 1989. Urbanization in Nepal. Papers of the East-West Center Population Institute, Number 110. Honolulu: East West Center.
- Sharma, P.R. 1982. "Old Age in Nepal: Some Preliminary Observations," *Unitas*. 55: 119-131.
- Subedi, Bhim P. 1996. "Getting Younger or Facing the Problem of Elderly: The Population Ageing in Nepal," in KC, Bal K. ed., *Population and Development in Nepal* Volume 4. Kathmandu: Central Department of Population Studies, pp. 93-112.

-
1993. Continuity and Change in Population Movement: From Inside a Rural Nepali Community. Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Geography, University of Hawaii.
- Torrey, B.R., K. Kinsella, and Taeuber. 1987. An Ageing World, International Population Reports, Series P-95, no.78. Washington D.C.: Bureau of the Census.
- United Nations. 1992. Population Ageing: Review of National Policies and Programs in Asia and the Pacific, Asian Population Studies Series No. 109. New York: United Nations.

INVESTIGATION IN NEPALESE FEMALE PERSONALITY

Murari P. Regmi

Central Dept. of Psychology Department
Tribhuvan University

Introduction

Nepal like many other third world countries is a family-oriented society where women are placed on a pedestal but have far more obligations and fewer real powers than males (Watkins and Regmi, 1989).

In the Nepalese society, mothers and sisters have important roles of redemption like their Japanese counterparts as redeemers for their men (Kawai, 1982). This redemption motive of sisters is revealed in the festival of *Bhratri Dwitiya* (brother-worship). Nepalese psyche shows a deep impact of mother nucleus as a guiding spirit for sons. Nepalese women reflect shyness, modesty with emphasis on chastity as dominant traits. Like the Chinese, the Nepalese also exhibit filial piety with industry, tolerance, harmony, humbleness, loyalty, kindness, benevolence, patriotism, trustworthiness, sense of shame, courtesy, conservation, traditionalism, chastity in women and sincerity (King and Bond, 1985; Bond and Pang, 1989; Yang, 1989; Ho and Hong, 1989).

Very little is known about the psychological attributes of Nepalese women. In general, they tend to be simple optimistic, slow moving and show Hindu cultural values of altruism, benevolence and peace of mind. A few studies have been conducted by Regmi (1985, 1986, 1987) on the Nepalese personality.

Uchida-Kraepelin psychodiagnostic test has been used for screening personality, behavioral problems and service-merit rankings. This simple test reveals the subjects deep-rooted personality tendencies and his essential ability. Apart from several researches, recently Takimoto et al. (1988) have used this test for assessing work efficiency of junior high school students.

The purpose of this study is to assess the personality and action of Nepalese female students using Uchida-Kraepelin standardized psychodiagnostic test. Uchida defined personality as the blend of three factors:

Movement, variation and concentration in equal proportion. Movement means how person starts action and work, variation denotes how person is flexible to the situation, and concentration shows how the person concentrates on work.

Method

Subjects: Subjects were 270 first year proficiency certificate level's female students of Padma Kanya Campus, Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu, The subjects were above 16 years and subdivided into six groups as shown below. These sub-groups were formed in order to test the effects of Devanagari (D) and Arabic (A) numerals. As Nepalese students are accustomed to both the scripts in their homes, campuses and day-to-day life. The sample was selected randomly.

No.	Group	Time of Testing	Sample Size
1	A-D	Two	51
2	A-A	Two	51
3	A	One	33
4	D-D	Two	48
5	D-A	Two	48
6	D	One	39
Total:		10	270

Explanation:

- A means "Arabic Numerals"
- D means "Devanagari Numerals"
- A-D means "First Arabic and second time Devanagari Numerals"
- D-A means "First Devanagari and second time Arabic Numerals"
- A-A means "Arabic both the times"
- D-D means "Devanagari both the times"

Uchida's Personality Types

Uchida has classified personality into five categories, which are as follow:

Regular type with High Potential: Those who belong to this type have more ability than the average. They show capability to do and respond many kinds of work and exhibit well-balanced and integrated personalities. Their work curves show moderate fluctuation. The general shape of the curve before the rest break is "U" shape, while after the break it is a line dropping off to the right.

Regular Type: Those who belong to this type have more ability than the average. Their personality don't have any problem.

Quasi-Regular Type: Those who belong to this type have ability less than the average. It is not specially pointed out that they have problems in their personality. They don't have much capability to do many kinds of work.

Non-Regular Type: Those who belong to this type have unbalanced personality. They can do only a few kinds of work.

Irregular Type: Those who belong to this type have strongly unbalanced personality. They have low capability. It is difficult for them to do the work satisfactorily.

Materials: Uchida-Kraepelin psycho diagnostic test was developed and used by Yuzaburo Uchida (1894-1966), a Japanese psychologist While was working in the Matujawa Hospital's Psychological laboratory. He based his research on the work of German psychiatrist E. Kraepalin (1856-1926), his teacher and originator of this test. This is standardized test on Japanese samples. This test is being used for a wide variety of purposes in the field of education, industry and psychology. It shows high validity. It is based on the continuous-addition method of psychological analysis of the work process. it consists of 39 longer lines of printed Devanagari and Arabic digits. The entire testing period was divided into three parts: Practice testing (5 lines), first testing (17 lines), and second testing (17 lines)

Procedure

The subjects were instructed by the investigator for practice drill to write the sum in the space between the first and second digits, second and third digits, third and fourth digits and so on right across the answer sheet. When the sum exceeds nine, the subject is to enter only the digit in the place of the unit.

In the practice drill the subjects were asked to "start", and at every 20 seconds, investigator would then announce to the subjects to proceed to the next line. The practice test takes only 20 seconds but on both true testings, each line of digits takes 60 seconds. During the "first testings", the investigator gives "signal" to change to the next line below at the end of each minute. The first testing is completed within fifteen minutes. After the first test, the subjects rest for 15 minutes and then repeat the same testing procedure for fifteen more minutes.

The test results were evaluated on typical and atypical curves and on twenty four type scheme of diagnostic criteria consisting of 5 personality

types as mentioned in the method. They are determined by the amount of work performed and profile fluctuation.

The time required to complete the test was about 45 minutes on an average. The test was administered from August 23 to 29, 1985. The investigator was assisted during the test by Jiro Kobi, a Japanese overseas Volunteer.

Scoring: The entire answer sheets were scored and interpreted with the assistance provided by the Psycho technological Institute of Tokyo, Japan.

Analysis: Data were analyzed on the basis of nor. Personality was analyzed through types of curved lines, synthetic valuation and three factors, i.e., movement (indicated by first number), variation (represented by middle number) and concentration (symbolized by last number). Code of Personality was shown by three digits. These digits were 6, 5, 4 where 6 denoted strong, exhibited standard and 4 denoted fewer tendencies. The balanced personality was coded by five (555). Thus codes of 444 and 666 denote lesser and higher tendencies respectively.

Results and Discussion

Since these groups did not differ in the use of numerals (Devanagari and Arabic)d, data from all six subgroups were collected and made single group. Thus all the tables provide composite picture of total sample (N=270). The results showed that only 0.8% subjects belonged to the excellent category of synthetic valuation, which showed high tendency of speed management-ability 48-1% subjects expressed good management of speed (Table 1). More than one third (35.6%) subjects revealed poor management-ability. Very poor ability to learn and perform new things quickly and incapability to improve in newly learned skills were expressed by .y% subjects only.

Table No. 1: Showing Balance of Personality

Ability of management of Speed		Total %
1.	Excellent	0.8
2.	Very Good	14.8
3.	Good	48.1
4.	Poor	35.6
5.	Very Poor	0.7
Total:		100

While evaluating, according to the graphic representation, 19% subjects fell into high potential regular type showing well-balanced personality and appreciable reflection. 7% subjects belonged to regular type having more ability than the average. Thus subjects (8.9%) of both regular types exhibited balanced personality. Their personality did not show any problem. Quasi-regular type subjects (35.2%) have less ability than the average. They do not show much capability to do many kinds of work. It is not specially brought out whether they have problems in their personality and action.

Non-Regular (46.3%) and Irregular (9.6%) type subjects showed unbalanced and strongly unbalanced personality and action respectively (Table 2). On an overall basis, both non-regular and irregular type subjects (55.9%) fell into the category of unbalanced personality showing low work ability; lacked balance and harmony in personality and action. Their atypical curves (c/f) showed large number of errors, extreme fluctuations, drop in work curve and markedly low performance.

Table No. 2: Showing Diagnostic Criteria

Synthetic Valuation	Percent
1. Regular type with high potential	1.9
2. Regular type	7.0
3. Quasi-Regular type	35.2
4. Non-Regular type	46.3
5. Irregular type	9.6

Regarding the code of personality, shy-looking Nepalese females (23.3%) represented code number ("455" as their chief personality characteristics, followed by 20% females pitching their response on "555". 16.3% Nepalese females fell under code number "456" seemed unyielding, independent and fastidious; they started slowly but carried out the work without losing heart. It is difficult to observe their personality from outside (Appendix Table 1) Nepalese females preferred slow but steady start. They failed at start which expressed their lack of interest in task. Similarly they showed low changeability. In the components of personality balanced movement, variation and concentration were shown by 35.1%, 65.2% and 65.1% respectively.

Table No. 3: Showing Categories of Movement, Variation and Concentration (Personality Components)

Personality component	Categories			
	High%	Balanced%	Low%	Total%
1. Movement	1.9	35.1	63.0	100
2. Variation	6.3	65.2	28.5	100
3. Concentration	23.7	65.1	11.2	100

In sum, it could be stated that Nepalese females exhibited low management ability with less changeableness and stability in their personality. This study has serious implication with respect to prospects of change in the current status or work-tendency of Nepalese womenfolk in order to cope with the abrupt rise in expectancy owing to modernization among the urban population. These findings could be helpful to the researchers of other countries for cross-cultural comparisons. Finally, this investigation is initial in nature, which reveals some of the traits of personality as well as psychological characteristics of Nepalese women.

References

- Bond, M.H.; and Pang, M. K. 1989. "Trusting to the Tao: Chinese Values and the re-centering of Psychology." *Paper Presented at the Conference on Moral Values and Moral Reasoning in Chinese Societies, held at the Academic Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan, (May 25-27)*
- Ho, D. Y. F.; and Hong, Y. Y. 1989. "Filial Piety: Its Psychological Consequences." *Paper presented at the International Conference on Moral Values and Moral Reasoning in Chinese Societies, Taipei, Taiwan, (May-27).*
- Kawai, H. 1982. *Mukashibanshi to Nihonjin no Kokoro* (Fairy Tales and Japanese Psyche). Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, Second Ed.
- King, A. Y. C.; And Bond, M. H. 1985; "The Confucian Paradigm of Man: A Sociological View." In w. s. Tseng and D. Y. H. Wu (Eds). *Chinese Culture and mental health* Florida.: Academic Press, pp. 29-45.
- Regmi, M. P. 1985. "Projective Profiles of the Personality of Gurung Children from Western Nepal: Some Educational Implications." *Paper presented at 14th Annual Conference on South Asia. South Asia Center, University of Wisconsin, U. S. A.*

- Regmi, M.p. 1986. "The culture-contact and the personality Structure of the Gurungs: A Rorschach Study." *Psychologia* 29:1, (A 50-55).
- Regmi, M. P. 1987. The Gurung Personality Structure as Projected through Rituals & Myths. *Psychologia* 30:1, pp (53-57).
- Takimoto, t; Uchida, J. Yamada, K. and Hayashi, K. 1988. "Work Curve Characteristics of Junior High School students by Uchida Kraepelin Psychodiagnostic Test." *Paper presented at XXIV International Congress of Psychology*. Sydney, Australia. August 28-September 2, Monday, TQ.
- Watkins, D. and Regmi, M. P. 1989. A Nepalese Investigation of the Antecedents of self-esteem. *Psychology & Human Development*. 2:2 pp, 49-54.
- Yang, K. S. 1989. "Filial Attitudes and Behavior: A Social Psychological Approach." *Paper Presented at the International Conference on Moral Values and Moral Reasoning in Chinese Societies*. Taipei, Taiwan, May 25-27.

APPENDIX

**Table-1: Showing Code of Personality
(N=270)**

Personality Code	%	Personality Code	%
666	0	545	2.2
656	.4	654	0.0
646	0	554	0.7
665	0	466	0.4
655	1.1	466	0.4
645	0	456	16.3
664	0	446	2.6
654	.4	465	3.7
644	0	455	23.3
566	.7	445	13.3
556	2.6	464	.0
546	.7	454	0.4
565	1.5	444	0.0
555	20	Indefinite	9.3

UCHIDA-KRAEPELIN PSYCHODIAGNOSTIC TEST (STANDARD TYPE2)

8 9 7 5 9 4 6 3 8 6 7 5 9 8 5 6 3 9 7 4 8 9
 5 6 9 3 8 5 9 8 7 6 5 4 9 6 8 3 7 9 8 4 5 8
 7 5 3 8 7 4 9 8 4 7 3 8 5 9 8 5 7 7 3 6 9 4
 3 7 8 4 7 8 6 5 3 9 5 8 4 5 6 7 9 8 4 6 5 7
 6 4 7 8 3 5 9 4 8 7 5 3 8 4 5 8 7 6 8 9 7 5

ADMIN & PHYSICAL

CONDITION:

HEALTH RECORD:

PHYSICAL APPEARANCE:

CHISE

SLENDER

EDUCATION:

PROFESSIONAL CAREER:

NUMBER

SEX

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

TYPE OF CLINIC

DATE OF CLINIC

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

AGE

DATE:

PLACE OF TEST:

NUMBER OF TIMES TAKEN:

NAME

PASSIVIZATION IN NEPALI

Madhav P. Pokharel
Central Department of Nepali
Tribhuvan University

Introduction

The rules of passivization as given by Sanskrit grammatical tradition (bhāva-karma-vācya), Chomsky (1981), Relational Grammar (Perlmutter and Postal 1983, Polmutter and Rosen, 1984) and Jaeggli (1986) are basically taken as theoretical frameworks for the analysis and formulation of passivization in Nepali. In course of this formulation, problems that arise in handling Nepali data are put forward. Attempts will also be made to give shortcomings of the prevalent theory to account for Nepali data.

Voice Types and Issues of Reflexive Passive

Classification: Taking care of Sanskrit grammatical tradition the voice of the following three sentences of Nepali can be analyzed thus:

1. A. mai-le chor-i cin - ē
 I ERG sibling-FEM identify- 1st,sg,past
 I identified the daughter.
- B. chor - i cin - i - i
 sibling-FEM identify-passive-3rd,sg,fem,past
 The daughter was identified.
- C. (Aphu-le) chor - i cin - i - yo.
 self-ERG sibling-FEM identify-passive marker-3rd,sg,masc

In Sanskrit voice (vācya) means 'signified' and vācaka means 'signifier'. Since voice is a sentential category usually reflected in the verb-morphology, Sanskrit grammatical tradition takes the verb-endings as 'signifier' (vācaka) and the NP signified by and thus constructed with the verb-ending is the 'signified', that is, voice (vācya). Hence if the verb-ending agrees with the subject the construction is in the active (*kartr*) voice; if it

gives with the object the construction is in the passive(*karma*) voice and if the verb-ending agrees neither with the subject nor the object the sentence is in the impersonal voice (*bhāva vācya*).

Theoretical Issue of Reflexive Passive: Sentence (1C) gives a counterexample to Sanskrit grammatical tradition, because in Sanskrit, a transitive sentence can't have a corresponding impersonal voice. It is reserved only for the intransitive sentence which is a clear transitive sentence but 1C is in the impersonal voice (*bhāvavācya*). To support our conclusion, characteristics of impersonal voice are given below:

- a) the verb-ending cannot be construed with either subject or object.
- b) the verb-ending is unmarked in number, gender and person, that is it is in the 3rd person singular masculine form. For example, 'yo' of (3).
- c) in Nepali the dummy 'Aphu' (whether overt or covert) controls the verb, e.g. (cf. Imai 1979).

2. A. ma hās-ē
I laughed
I laugh - 1st. p. sg. pt.
- B. Aphu hās-i-yo (passive)
self laugh-passive marker-3rd p. sg. masc.

Similar to this pair of intransitive sentences Nepali has the following sentences comparable to (1B) and (1C).

3. A. Keta - haru cin - i - e (personal passive)
boy - pl. identify-pass. mark- 3rd. pl.
Boys were identified.
 - B. (Aphu-le) Keta - haru - (lai) cin - i - yo
self-ERG boys - pl. - DAT identify - pass. 3rd. sg. masc.
 4. A. cautAri - mA rAni bheT - i - in Boys were identified
platform-LOC queen meet-pass-3rd,HON,ERG,past.
The queen was met in the platform.
 - B. (Aphu-le) cautAri-mA rAni bheT-i-yo.
self-ERG platform-LOC queen meet pass-3rd.sg.masc.past.
The queen is met with in the platform.
- d) In Nepali passivization of intransitive sentence is possible only if the subject is in the first person (In questions, even the second person is allowed). It means impersonal voice always carries reflexive meaning. e.g.

5. A. ma mar - ě
I die-1,sg.,masc., past
I died.
- B. (Aphu) mar - i - yo
self die-pass-3, sg., masc., past
6. A. tā mar-is
you die-2.sg.,past
You died.
- B. (Aphu) mar-i-yo.
7. A. tā mar-is ?
you diē - 2,sg., past ?-QUESTION
B.*(Aphu) mar - i - yo ?
self diē-pass-3,sg.,masc.,past
8. A. tyo mar-yo
he die-3,sg.,masc.,past
He died.
- B. (Aphu) mar-i-yo

Similarly if we change the person of the Subject (1C) is not a possible transform (e.g. 9 and 10).

9. tāi - le chor - i cin - is
you-ERG sibling-FEM identify-2,sg.,past
You identify (your) daughter.
10. us-le chor - i cin - yo
he-ERG sibling-FEM identify-3,sg.,past

Therefore if the transitive sentence has first person, subject in the active voice, has two corresponding passives.

- i) Non-reflexive (Type 1B) passive and
- ii) Reflexive (Type 1C) passive.

But an intransitive sentence can only have impersonal passive, that is, its input should always contain first person subject.

These characteristics of impersonal passive (cf. Imai, 1979) are sufficient to support that (1C) is in impersonal passive (*bhāva vācya*) and is a new type not attested in Sanskrit. Even for Hindi Imai (1979) postulates passivization of intransitive verbs. We have not encountered any language of Indo-Aryan which has impersonal passive for the transitive verb.

Reflexive Passive in Indo-European and Nepali: But reflexive meaning of the impersonal passive of both type-1C and type-2B is remarkable. Before the process of passivization was innovated in the Indo-European, (see Chatterji, 1960:24), underlyingly there used to be two voices: *Atmanepada* and *Parasmaipada* (Whitney 1888: 200-1)

Sanskrit Examples:

11. A. Sa odana-m paca-ti
 he rice-ACC cook-3,sg.,paras
 He cooks rice for others.
- B. Sa odana-m paca-te
 he rice-ACC cook-3,sg., atmane
 He cooks rice for himself.

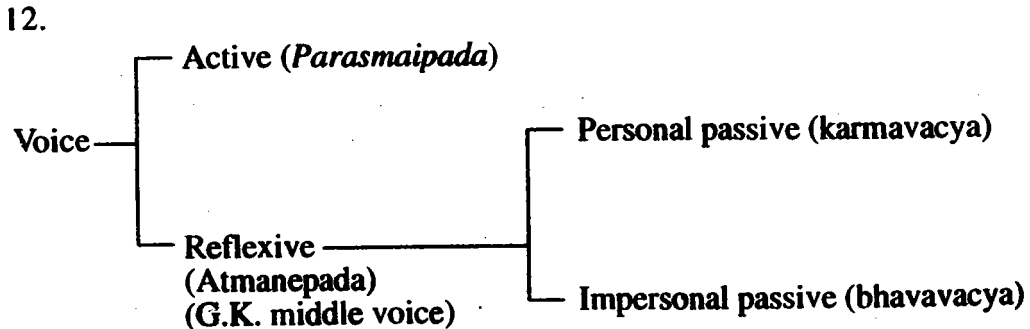
The *Atmanepada* which is termed as 'middle voice' in Greek was reflexive (Whitney, 1888: 200-1). When the process of passivization developed in Indo-European from *Atmanepada* (Chatterji, 1960: 24) the difference between these two voices *Parasmaipada* (active) and *Atmanepada* (reflexive) was blurred and in poetry... an other voice than the legitimate one is often admissible for metrical reasons (Speijer 1886: 235-7). But regularly in some areas or as remaants in other the distinction between *Parasmaipada* and *Atmanepada* exists in Sanskrit.

One more remarkable thing: there is morphological similarity between passive (*karmavācyā* and *bhāvavācyā*) and *Atmanepada* - all passives in the present are in *Atmanepada* (i.e. reflexive) (Panini, 1.3.13).

Sanskrit examples:

- A. Sa odanam pacati (*Parasmaipada*)
 B. Sa odanam pacate (*Atmanepada*)
 C. Odana-h pac-ya-te (passive which is *Atmanepada*)
 rice-NOM cook-pass. marker-3,sg.
 Rice was cooked.

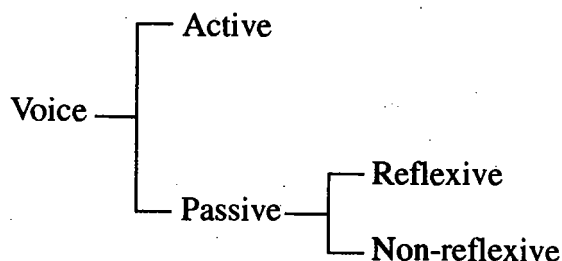
Hence Chatterji (1960: 24) seems to be correct to conclude that passives in Indo-European developed from reflexive (*Atmanepada*). Voice in Indo-European can be summarized thus:



Voice in Indo-European

Comparable to this classification of voice in Indo-European the Nepali voice can be classified like this (cf. Andersen 1989):

13.



Voice in Nepali

Examples of active are 1A, 2A, 3A, 5A, 6A, 7A, 8A, 9A and 10A; that of non-reflexive passive are 1B, and 4A; and that of reflexive passive are 1C, 2B, 3B, 4B and 5B.

The following characteristics establish the three voices in Nepali:

Table 1: Nepali Voice Characters

Active	Reflexive Passive	Non-reflexive Passive
1. Verb is controlled by the subject 2. Verb-root is not followed by the passive-making suffix -i- 3. Subject in any person is permitted 4. Irrespective of transitivity	1. Verb is controlled by-a dummy 2. Verb-root is followed by the passive-making suffix -i- 3. Input condition of the subject in the active voice: it should always be in the first person 4. <i>ma</i> 'I' in active changes to 'Aphu' 'self' whether overt or covert 5. Irrespective of transitivity	1. Verb is controlled by the object 2. Verb-root is followed by the passive making suffix -i- 3. Subject in any person is permitted as an input 4. Characteristically transitive

The only difference between the reflexive passive of Nepali and middle voice (*Atmanepada*) of Sanskrit is that Subject is irrespective of person as an input condition of the reflexive voice in Sanskrit, but in Nepali the input condition for the reflexive passive is the first person of the Subject.

Secondly, semantically the difference between *atmanepada* and *parasmaipada* is usually very loose and blurred, although as remnants there are some roots where the semantic contrast is maintained. If the fruit of the action goes to the subject it is in *atmanepada*. If the fruit of the action goes to the other than the subject, the verb form is in *parasmaipada*. But in Nepali the passive is reflexive if the subject is the speaker himself and it is non-reflexive if the verb is transitive and if the subject is not necessarily speaker himself. Therefore, reflexive passive in Nepali is pragmatic and hence not mechanical or transformational as the impersonal passive (*bhāvavācya*) or middle voice (*atmanepada*) of Sanskrit.

Reflexive passive of the sentence with second person subject is also possible in Nepali if the sentence is interrogative, e.g.

14. A. *taĩ-le keti dekh-is ?*
 you-ERG girl see-past-2, sg.INT
 B. *timi-le keti dekh-you ?*
 you-ERG girl -see-2, sg., HON., past, INT
 C. *tapAi-le keti dekhnu-bhayo ?*
 you-ERG girl see-past, HON
 Did you see the girl ?
15. A. *Keti dekh-i-yo ?*
 girl -see-pass-3.,sg.,masc., past, INT
 Was the girl seen ? (passive)
 B. *Keti dekh-i-i ?*
 girl see-pass, sg., FEM, past, INT
 The girl was seen (Non-reflexive passive)

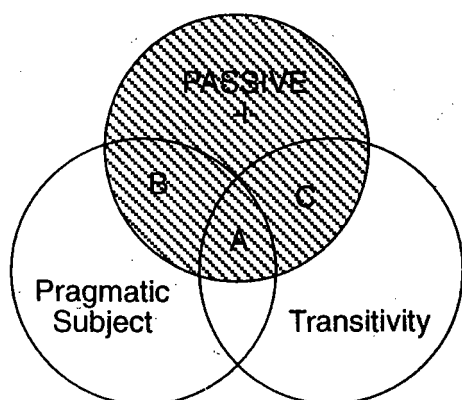
In the examples 15A is the reflexive passive of all sentences in 14. This is also an example to prove the pragmatic relevance of passivization in Nepali.

For the pragmatic relevance of passivization in Nepali there is a third possibility reflected in 16.

- 16 A *tyahā ma-tai kut-i-yo.* (and one or all involved in my beating are present here.)
 there I-DAT beat-pass.-3.,sg.,masc.,past
 I was beaten there.
 B *mero bejjat gar-i-yo.* (I was insulted) (and the one insulting me is present here.)
 my insult do-pass-3.,sg., masc., past

If the subject who was involved with the action, is present and the speaker does not like to mention his name for the sake of formality or fear, 16 is used.

The following Venn Diagram shows the types of voice in Nepali:



1. Shaded area = Passive
 A = Reflexive Personal Passive
 B = Reflexive Impersonal Passive
 C = Non-reflexive Personal Passive
 -i- = Passive Marker
2. Unshaded area = Active

The diagram shows that:

- a) *For the sentence to be categorized as passive the suffix -i- is obligatory.
- b) The areas intersected by pragmatic subject is reflexive.
 - 1) There can be two types of reflexive passive
 - A) *Reflexive Personal Passive*:
 - i) When the verb is transitive.
 - ii) When the subject is pragmatic (that is, 2nd-person-subject in the interrogative sentence, 3rd-person-subject as in the case of 16, and usually when the subject is in first person, usually singular)
 - B) *Reflexive Impersonal Passive*:
 - i) When the verb is intransitive.
 - ii) When the subject is pragmatic.
- c) *Non-reflexive Personal Passive*:
 The shaded area C shows that for the passive to be categorized as non-reflexive personal passive.
 - i) the verb should be transitive.
 - ii) pragmatics of the subject is neglected.
- d) Unshaded area shows the active voice.

Counterexamples to GB: Chomsky's theory of Government and Binding (see Chomsky 1986: 166) precludes the grammaticality of an unbound anaphor (like Nepali *Aphu*) in that a reflexive anaphor (like *Aphu*) should be bound by the antecedent NP. But in the following Nepali examples of reflexive passive the reflexive anaphor is unbound, that is not preceded by any antecedent NP.

- 2B. *Aphu* has-i-yo.
 reflexive anaphor laugh-pass.-3.sg.masc.,past
 I laughed.

3B. Aphu-le keta-haru cin-i-yo.
 reflexive boy-Pl. identify-pass.-3.,sg.,masc., past.
 amaphor-ERG
 Boys were identified.

5B. Aphu mar-i-yo.
 reflexive amaphor die-pass.-3.,sg.,masc., past
 I died.

Therefore to account for the grammaticality of these sentences, Chomsky's theory of Government and Binding is to be modified (cf. Wallace, 1985).

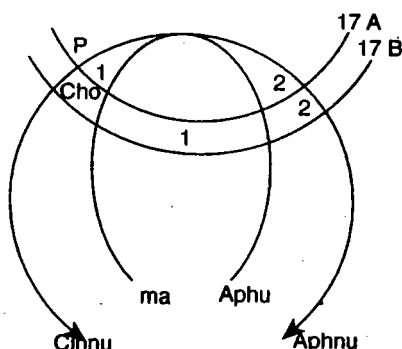
Counterexamples to Relational Grammar: Nepali data on reflexive passive give counterexample to several issues propounded by Relational Grammar (Perlmutter and Postal 1983 and Perlmutter and Rosen 1984):

A. According to *Final I Law* (Perlmutter and Postal 1983: 81-128) no sentence is grammatical if there is no subject (overt or covert) on the final stratum, but 15A, 16A and 16B examples of Nepali reflexive passive violate this law.

B. Language-independent characterization of passivization (Perlmutter and Postal 1983: 3-29) as postulated by Relational Grammar is the 2-1 Advancement, that is the object nominal in the first stratum should be changed into the subject nominal the next stratum, but there is no 2-1 Advancement in the following examples of Nepali reflexive passive.

17 A. mai-le aphu-lai cinna sakina.
 I-ERG reflexive anaphor-ACC to recognize could not
 I could not recognize myself.

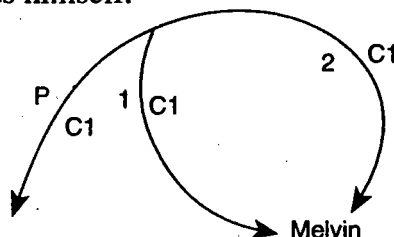
B. Aphu-le aphu-lai cinna sak-i-ena.
 reflexive reflexive to know couldnot be
 amaphor-ERG amaphor-ACC
 I could not recognize myself.



The first co-ordinate (17A) is a transitive sentence where 1-arc is headed by 'ma' and 2-arc is headed by the reflexive-dummy 'Aphu' which is a 2-copy of the same nominal 1, but in the next co-ordinate (17B). 1-arc is put *en chomage* by another reflexive dummy which heads 1-arc but 2-arc remains intact. In the sentence there is no 2-1 Advancement, hence (17B) is not a passive accordingly, but it is a passive. That's why the universal characterization of passivization postulated by Perlmutter and Postal as 2-1 Advancement is insufficient and hence it is to be modified to characterize Nepali reflexive passive.

C. So far as 17A-B are concerned they suit the input conditions set by Relational Grammar (Perlmutter and Postal 1984: 126-70) according to which in a reflexive sentence like 18 the same nominal heads both the 1-arc and 2-arc in the first stratum.

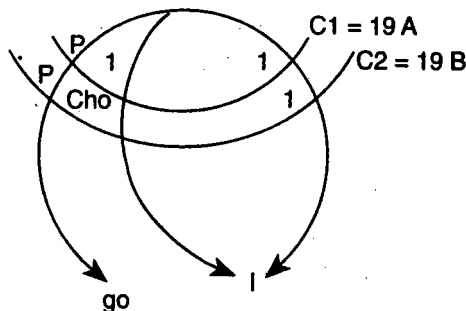
18. Melvin understands himself.



According to them in a reflexive passive there is a 2-1 advancement of the reflexive dummy but this input condition is not sufficient for the structural description of the Nepali intransitive reflexive sentence where the reflexive anaphor cannot head a 2-arc, e.g.

- 19 A. ma aphai ga-e
 I reflexive anaphor go1.,sg., past
 'I myself went.'
- B. Aphu ga-i-yo.
 reflexive anaphor go-pass-3.,sg.,masc,past.
 'I went.'

Following relational discipline 19 can be represented thus:



This representation of Nepali reflexive passive violates the *Stratal Uniqueness Law* (Perlmutter and Postal 1983: 3-29) which says that 'only one dependent of a clause can bear a given term relation in a given stratum', but in our analysis of 19A the first stratum contains two 1-arcs and that is a clear violation of *Stratal Uniqueness Law*.

D. Impersonal Passive: Relational Grammar (Perlmutter and Postal 1984: 81-125) shows the possibility of impersonal passive from both transitive and intransitive predicates. Impersonal passive clauses involve a dummy nominal which is a 2 and which advances to 1. This opens the possibility of impersonal passive of Nepali both transitive and intransitive clauses, e.g.

1C. (Aphu-le) chor-i cin-i-yo.

2B. (Aphu) has-i-yo.

In these examples though the dummy *Aphu* controls the verb-endings but as we have discussed above, there is no 2-1 advancement of the dummy. In Nepali the dummy is the reflexive anaphor *Aphu* which exists only when the 'pivot nominal' (see Perlmutter and Zaenen, 1984: 171-216) is the first person singular *ma* 'I' which heads 1. Thus in Nepali all impersonal passives are reflexive.

Towards Defining Nepali Passives

In course of our discussion on reflexive passive we have found that the so-called universal definition of passivization put forward by Relational Grammar falls short to account for Nepali reflexive passive. Reflexive passive in Nepali is not found identical with the *atmanepada* of Sanskrit. For the universal definition of passivization Chomsky (1981) has set two criteria. According to Chomsky (1981: 24) in a passivized sentence:

- a) [NP,S] does not receive a θ -role, and
- b) [NP, VP] does not receive Case within VP.

Nepali non-reflexive passive fits into these criteria, e.g.

1 A. mai-le chor-i cin-e

B chor-i cin-i-i

In the 1B [NP,S] i.e. 'ma' does not receive theta-role, and [NP,VP] i.e. 'chor-i' does not receive case within VP. But these criteria are not sufficient to account for Nepali reflexive passive in 1C, 2B, and 3B.

1 C. Aphu-le chor-i cin-i-yo.

2 B. Aphu has-i-yo.

3 B. Aphu-le keta-haru-lai cin-i-yo.

In 1C and 3B [NP,VP] still occupies its theta-role within VP and in all these examples the [NP,S] position is filled by the dummy 'Aphu' by replacing the 'pivot' nominal 'ma' and the dummy occupies theta-role within S.

Thus, these set of examples on reflexive passive in Nepali give counterexamples to Chomsky's criteria of passivization. These urge Chomsky to modify his theory of Universal Grammar to account for Nepali reflexive passive.

According to Jaeggli (1986) [NP,S] position is not assigned a theta-role because the external theta-role of the bare verb is absorbed by the passive morpheme (-en-). Since this defining characteristic of passive set by Jaeggli (1986) is also rooted on Chomsky's criteria, it is also to be modified to account for Nepali reflexive passive where though there is passivizing suffix -i- in the verb, theta-role of the [NP,S] position is kept intact.

Verma (1976) has hinted 'correlation between volition and agenthood in South Asian languages, which seems to play an important role in subject demotion (or promotion). With the same notion Pandheri Pande (1978) has proposed the volitionality of the verb as the necessary condition for passivization:

1. If the verb is volitional it can be passivized and passivization of sentences with non-volitional verbs is constrained.
2. Secondly, verbs whose subject is usually inanimate fail to undergo passive. Those verbs are passivized only when the subject is animate.

But Pandharipande's (1978) volitional criterion does not fit into Nepali data for the following reasons:

- a) Except for Dative Subject construction which does not undergo any passive any verb can be passivized if the subject is in the first person e.g.

20 A. ma nida-ẽ-chu.

I sleep-1st.,sg., past, chu-am.

Unknowingly, I slept.

B. Aphu nida-i-e-cha. (unknown past passive).

self sleep-pass.-past marker, cha-3.,sg. pr.

I slept

21 A. ma hara-e (Active)

I get lost, e-1.,sg.,past

I got lost.

- B. Aphu hara-i-yo. (Passive)
self get lose-pass.-3.,sg.,past
I got lost.

In our examples in 20 and 21 both the verbs are non-volitional, but they have corresponding passives. On the other hand even if the verb is volitional intransitive verbs with third person subject cannot be passivized, e.g.

- 22 U hid-yo.
he walk-1.,sg., past
He walked.
- 23 manche bas-cha.
man sit-3.,masc.,present.
The man sits.

Sentences 22 and 23 contain volitional verbs, which can be verified by all three criteria of volitional verbs set by Pandharipande (1978):

- (i) Both the verbs can have imperative construction.
- (ii) Both the verbs come out from Negation Test (na CAerai pani)
- (iii) Both the verbs can be extended with 'TRIED TO'

In spite of being volitional, 22 and 23 do not have passive because the subject is in the 3rd person and the verb is intransitive. On the other hand, even when the verb is nonvolitional the following sentences have two corresponding passive, both reflexive and non-reflexive.

- 24 A. mai-le keti dekh-e.
I-ERG girl see-1.,sg., past.
I saw the girl.
- B. Keti dekh-i-i.
girl see-pass-3., sg., fem., past.
The girl was seen.
- C. Keti dekh-i-yo.
girl seei-pass.-3.,sg.,past,masc.
The girl was seen by me.

Apart from her volitional criterion other conclusions she has drawn about Hindi passive are similarly applicable to Nepali data:

- (a) Similar to Hindi ex-subject or agent-phrase is generally deleted even in Nepali.

- (b) Passive with ex-subject generally expresses capability of the subject if the sentence is negative (cf. Vajpeyi 1956, Kachru 1960) e.g.

25. A. ta hisab padh-dei-na-s.
 you math read-dei-continuous-NEG.-present.
 'You won't read maths.'

B. ta-bata hisab padh-i-dei-na.
 ta-you math read-pass.-ASPECT-NEG.
 'You can't read maths.'

- (c) Subjectless passives don't express capabilitative meaning e.g.

25. C. hisab padh-i-dei-na.

- (d) Similar to Pandharipande's (1978) conclusion, the subjectless passive like 25C reflects convention, custom and tradition. This holds good even if the verb is in the affirmative, e.g.

25 D. hisab padh-i-n-cha (Maths is read.)
 hisab-maths, padh-read, i-pass, cha-present

- (e) The semantics of convention, custom, or tradition, as Pandharipande notes for Hindi, is attached to habitual present even in Nepali. Thus if the tense or aspect of the verb is changed, the conventional meaning disappears, e.g.

25. E. Kitab padh-i-yo.
 book read-pass-3.,sg.,masc., past
 'The book was read.'

- (f) But the prohibitive meaning of the passive incorporated with the habitual present in the negative does not reflect "prohibitive" or "prescriptive" meaning in Nepali data.

In contrast with Pandharipande (1978) who believes the rules in Hindi passive as transformational. Saksena (1978) is of the view that passivization in Hindi is not transformational. She says:

- a) Hindi passive is semantically and syntactically independent of its corresponding active.
- b) The three properties of passive- verb-agreement, agent phrase, and morphology of the verb are not linked mechanically but are independent of each other.
- c) There is no motivation for deriving passive from active.
- d) There is lack of meaning equivalence between the corresponding voices.

- e) Agent phrase is not restricted to the passive.
- f) Passives are basically agentless. That is why there will be many grammatical passives for which there will be no corresponding grammatical active sources. (Conversely, there will be many agentive active ... for which there will be no grammatical passive.)

These are the problems in Hindi passives and also for the reasons Pandaripande (1978) mentioned above compel Saksena (1978) to conclude that passivization in Hindi is not transformational.

By analysing passive in Hindi, Davison (1982) also has come to similar conclusions:

- a) It is not possible to release form and meaning solely with transormation or irrespective rules.
- b) Shades of meaning (like ability and prohibition) are not linguistically reraled.
- c) Positive passive sentences do not usually include mention of the subject "unlessabsolutely necessary". Such sentences also usually convey a somewhat different meaning from their active counterparts.
- d) Agent phrase is generally unaccepted.
- e) Hindi passive is an instance of agent demotion rather than object promotion Object in passive may retain its dative/accusative postposition.
- f) Order of constituents is not disturbed in passivization.
- g) Grammatical device like tranformation fail to give a coherent account of passivization in Hindi.

Summing up the analyses of Pandharipande (1978), Saksena (1978), Kachru (1980) and Davison (1982) if we look into Nepali data we will come to the following conclusions:

- i) Order of Constituents:
Order of Contituents is not disturbed in passivization:-
Underlying Subject is usually Topicalized except for stylistic reasons (cf Pokharel 1989).
- ii) Aphu-Control:
In Nepali Subject-NP controls the anaphor *Aphu* eg.

26. A didi-le bhai-haru-lai Aphai bola-in.
 elder younger brother amaphor call-past
 sister-ERG Plural-DAT/ACC
 The elder sister called her brothers.

The surface subject and underlying subject both of the non-reflexive passive control *Aphu*, e.g.

26. B. didi-bata bhai-haru Aphai bola-i-e.
 elder sister-from younger brother amaphor call-pass.-3rd.,
 pl.,past.
 Brothers were called by the elder sister.

Thus in 26B *Aphu* is ambiguous and is controlled by both surface subject and ex-subject. Therefore with respect to anaphoric control Nepali passive is an instance of object promotion rather than agent demotion (cf. Davison 1982). But if the object-NP is followed by the dative/accusative postposition *lai* anaphoric control by Object-NP is blocked eg.

26. C. didi-bata bhai-haru-lai Aphai bola-i-yo.

In 26C *Aphu* is controlled by only ex-subject *didi*. But in reflexive, passive *Aphu* is always controlled by ex-subject rather than object, eg.

27. A. mai-le bhai-haru Aphai bola-e.
 I-ERG younger brother-haru-pl. amaphor call-past.
 'I called my brothers myself.'
 B. *Aphu*-le bhai-haru Aphai bola-i-yo.

In 27B second anaphor *Aphu* is controlled by the first unbound anaphor *Aphu* in the subject position. Besides that, the first *Aphu* in the subject position has retained the agentive postposition *-le*. That is why the reflexive passive is an instance of neither agent-demotion nor object promotion. Summing up, both reflexive and non-reflexive passive cannot be categorized as relation changing phenomena.

iii) Agent Phrase:

In Nepali passives of transitive sentences agent phrase is obligatory if the subject is valued high on the power axis:

- a) In the negative habitual present agent phrase gives the capability meaning (cf. Pandharipande, 1978).
28. Keti-bata khet jot-i-dei-na.
 girl-from field ploughi-pass.-aspect-negative.
 Ploughing is not done by the girl.
 It has also conventional meaning.

- b) When the Subject is in the first person, the subject NP- is not demoted, hence it retains its ergative marker *le* even in the passive.
- c) Non-human and inanimate subject-NP also retains its ergative-instrumental marker *-le*, e.g.

29. A. bhuicala-le ghar bhatka-yo.
 quake-ERG/INST house demolish-past.
 The quake demolished the house.

B. bhuicala-le ghar bhatk-i-yo.
 quake-INST. house demolish-pass.-3.,sg.,past
 'The house was demolished by the quake.'

- d) If an inanimate subject is personified it is followed by the ablative/instrumental postposition *bATa:*, eg.

30. rastrasangha-bata prayas gar-i-eko cha. (Attempt has been done by UN.)
 rastrasangha-UN, bata-from, prayas-attempt, gar-do, i-pass, eko-pp, cha-is

- c) If the human subject is high in its formal position, it is followed by the postposition *bATa* (sometimes even *dvārā* is evidenced), e.g.

31. pradhanmantri-bata udghatan gar-i-yo.
 premier-from inauguration do-pass.-3., sg., past.
 It was inaugurated by the Premier

This is the reason why the formal Nepali dialect—the royal honorific always uses passive voice and the subject-NP is always followed by *bATa*, e.g.,

32. sri-pAc-bAta udghatan gar-i-yo.
 'Inauguration was done by His Majesty the King.'

- f) Elsewhere the agent phrase is deleted.

Applicability of T-rules

Following components mate the active vs. passive structure of sentences:

- a) Order of constituents.
- b) Overt passivizer in the verb.
- c) Demotion of the Subject - NP.
- d) Promotion of the Object - NP.
- e) Agent phrase.

- f) Semantic equivalence.
 - g) Transitivity
 - h) Animacy
- a) As for the order of constituents we have already noted that passivization does not disturb the order of constituents in Nepali (cf. Pray 1976.)
 - b) Nepali has overt passivizing suffix-i- which is absent in active counterparts.
 - c) As for the demotion of the Subject-NP, it is already noted above that in reflexive passive of Nepali there is no demotion of the subject.
 - d) As already noted, there is no promotion of the Object-NP in Nepali reflexive passive. Also that the object-NP followed by the postposition *-lai* is not usually raised.
 - e) Presence vs. absence of the agent phrase also brings about change in meaning. Several factors like formality, personification, animation, power, transitivity, etc. determine the presence vs. absence of the agent phrase. Due to this several input- active sentences may have a single passive and vice versa.
 - f) There is often lack of semantic equivalence between the active-inputs and the passive-outputs.
 - g) Intransitive verbs can be passivized only when the subject-NP is in the first person. If the sentence is interrogative passivization of intransitive clauses with the second person subject-NP is also permitted. In this way the person of the subject and the types of sentence (like negative, affirmative and interrogative) also set constraints in passivization of an intransitive sentence. Passivization of an intransitive sentence with the third person subject-NP is always constrained.
 - h) Animacy or personification also set the criteria for the selection of a particular postposition in an agent phrase.

Therefore, apart from the overt passivizing suffix-i- of the verb there is nothing regular and mechanical in the passivization of a Nepali sentence. In addition to these, there is Dative Subject-Construction prevalent in Nepali, passivization of which is constrained. These are the reasons why passivization in Nepali is not mechanical and transformational.

Passivization in South Asia with Special Reference to Nepali

Passive is not a South Asian norm. In Sanskrit passivization is mechanical hence transformational. But in New Indo-Aryan Languages like Nepali and Hindi, passivization is not regular (see Hoernle 1880:322, Kellogg 1938,

Chatterji 1960, Echmen 1974, Pandharipande 1978, Saksena 1978, Kachru 1980 and Davison 1982) - one can do without passive. Historically active meaning is superimposed on passive structure (cf. Grieson 1916); passive has pragmatic function; there is no meaning equivalence between the input and the output of passivization. There are constructions like unaccusative (see Perlmutter & Postal 1983: 81-330) and Inversion clause (Perlmutter 1984: 292-330) or Dative Subject Construction (Masica 1976) in which passivization is constrained. There are several other devices of depassivization in the New Indo-Aryan languages. In the extreme north of South Asia there lie Tibeto-Burman languages like Bantawa Rai (Novel Kishor Rai: personal communication) and in the extreme south of the linguistic area there lie Dravidian languages like Malayalam where there is no passive. With this situation we can deduce that passivization was not a pan-Indic phenomenon. It was introduced to the area with the introduction of Indo-Aryan which had innovated passivization before Greek, Latin and Indo-Iranian were separated (cf. Chatterji 1960: 24). Prior to that period in the Proto-Indo-European there used to be only two voices:- active (*parasmaipada*) and reflexive (*atmanepada*). Thus passivization in South Asia is in the process of decay due to the contact with Dravidian and Tibeto-Burman. That is why in the New Indo-Aryan languages there are only remnants of passive whose functions in the language are limited as stylistic and pragmatic rather than regular and rule-centered. It is but natural, therefore, that the factual content of the two corresponding voices in the New Indo-Aryan languages like Nepali and Hindi is not identical and also to have evidenced active meaning superimposed on passive construction in addition to passive meaning superimposed on active construction.

A. In addition to the Dative Subject construction which is a characteristic of South Asian syntax where 'Stativeness' of the verb has a tendency 'for demoting the Subject to the dative status' (Varma 1976), Nepali royal honorific most commonly uses sort of passive structure and thus further passivization of the sentences from the royal dialect is constrained.

B. In Nepali and several other South Asian languages ablauting of vowels is commonly used as passive if the vowel is raised and causative if the vowel is lowered. (cf. Davison 1982):

Intransitive

marnu 'die'
sarnu 'move'
balnu 'burn'
Dhalnu 'fall'
calnu 'move'

Transitive

mArnu 'kill'
sArnu 'move'
bAlnu 'burn'
DhAlnu 'fell'
cAlnu 'move'

33. A. Keta-le daura bal-yo.
 boy-ERG firewood burn-3.,sg., past.
 The boy burnt the firewood.
- B. daura bal-yo.
 firewood burn-past
 Firewood burnt.
- C. daura bal-i-yo.
 firewood burn-pass.,-3.,sg.,past.
 Firewood was burnt.

In fact 33C is the real passive of 33A, but 33C is often substituted with 33B, the unaccusative counterpart (see Rosen 1984: 38-77).

c) In South Asia use of such unaccusative sentences very commonly replace corresponding passives. Substituting *hunu* 'to be' with *garnu* 'to do' is also very common (see Pandharipande 1978), e.g.,

34. A. hami-le dherei kam gar-you.
 we-ERG much work do-1.,pl., past
 'We did a lot of work.'
- B. dherei kam gar-i-yo.
 much work do-pass-3., sg., past
 'Much work was done.'
- C. dherei kam bha-yo.
 much work be-past.
 'Much work happened.'

Thus functionally 34C which is an accusative sentence is commonly used as a passive of 34A although 34B is its real passive.

d) Even Nepali High Grade Honorific Construction resembles the passive structure:

35. A. Ama-le bhannu-bhayo.
 mother-ERG say-became
 Mother said.

In this sentence *bhannu* (nominal verb) is the surface subject and hence it controls the verb. But the active meaning is superimposed on this passive structure. This process of active meaning on passive structure has been a historical course of Indo-Aryan (cf. Grierson 1916), e.g.,

36. hami-bata gar-i-baks-eka-chau. (I have done.)

hami-we, bata-from, gar-do, i-pass., baks-favor, eka-past, chau-are.

Sentence 36 is a burning example of the functional activization of the passive construction.

e) Statistical evidence of Nepali data shows that passivization is generally neglected and active sentence is extended. In South Asia one can do without passive.

f) Historically ergativity in New Indo-Aryan languages was developed from 'P-oriented constructions' (see Hock 1988) of Sanskrit.

Relevance of Passives

Although passive is not a South Asian norm, in Nepali it is used in the following contexts (see. Pokharel 1990):

- a) When the subject is unknown.
- b) When the presence of the subject creates uneasy to mention him.
- c) When the mention of the subject is unnecessary.
- d) When the subject means a group of people where even the speaker is included.
- e) When the speaker feels the necessity to generalize the fact.
- f) When the agent is less important than the action.
- g) Scientific writing abounds in either in passive or unaccusative.
- h) When the subject is in the first person and the speaker wants to emphasize the peculiarity or importance of his action.
- i) In royal dialect.
- j) In formal context the passive: active ratio increases.
- k) Educated people have a tendency to passivize more than the uneducated ones. Thus passivization is high on the sociolinguistic axis.
- l) The difference between reflexive and non-reflexive: Speakers' experience is always obligatory for the reflexive passive.
- m) *ta* participle of Sanskrit is used in the passive sense even in Nepali.

References

- Andersen, Paul Kent. 1989. "Remarks on the origin of the term "passive"." *Lingua* 79: 1-16.
- Buck, Carl Darling. 1937. *Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Burrow, T. 1959. *The Sanskrit Language*. London: Faber & Faber.

- Chatterji, Sunāti Kumar. 1960. *Indo-Aryan and Hindi*. Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mahopadhyaya.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1981. *Lectures on Government and Binding*. Cambridge: MIT.
- _____. 1986. *Knowledge of Language*. New York: Praeger.
- Davison, Alice. 1982. "On the form and meaning of Hindi passive sentences." *Lingua* 58: 149-79.
- Eckman, Fred R. 1974. "Agentive and agentless passives." *Working Paper on Language Universals*, 14: 59-74.
- Grierson, George Abraham. 1916. *Linguistic Survey of India*. vol. ix, part iv, 1-100.
- Hock, Hans Henrich. 1986. "'P-Oriented" constructions in Sanskrit." In: *South Asian Languages: Structures Convergence and Diglossia* (ed), Bh. Krishnamurti, Delhi, Motilal Banarasidass, 15-26.
- Hoernle, A.F. Rudolf. 1880. *Comparatives Grammar of the Gaudian Languages with Special Reference to Eastern Hindi*. London: Rubner.
- Imai, Takashi. 1979. "On impersonal passive in Hindi." *Indian Linguistics* 40: 85-91.
- Jaeggli, Osvaldo A. 1986. "Passive." *Linguistic Inquiry* 17: 587-622.
- Kachru, Yamuna. 1980. *Aspects of Hindi Grammar*. New Delhi: Manohar Prakashan.
- Kellogg, S.H. 1938. *A Grammar of the Hindi Language*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner.
- Masica, Colin P. 1976. *Defining Linguistic Area South Asia*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Pandharipande, Rajeshwari. 1978. "Exceptions and rule government: The case of the passive rule in Hindi." *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences* 8.1: 153-743.
- Perlmutter, David M(ed.).1983. *Studies in Relational Grammar 1*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- _____. 1984. Working 1s and inversion in Italian, Iapanese and Quechua. In: Perlmutter and Rosen(eds), 292-330.

RESEARCH NOTE

BUDDHIST HEALERS IN NEPAL SOME OBSERVATIONS

Angela Dietrich

A facet of Buddhism which is quite pronounced in Nepal amongst all Buddhists, both Tibetan and non-Tibetan, is that of healing, an art Gautama Buddha himself originally propagated for the welfare of his monks and lay followers alike. A famous medieval Indian physician, Jivaka, who was an Ayurvedic practitioner, was also the Buddha's follower and he was therefore accustomed to treating monks for free. This gave even his lay followers, as historians have recorded, an incentive to become monks since Jivaka was known far and wide for his phenomenal healing abilities. Following his precedent the later form of Buddhism, that of Vajrayana (a branch of Mahayana Buddhism which became widespread in Nepal and Tibet) spawned its own system of ceremonial healing deriving inspiration from the cult of the 'Healing Buddha' which became widespread in Mahayana Buddhist countries. On Tibetan tankas the Healing Buddha is depicted as blue in colour, bearing herbs which he uses to heal. Following this precedent, the Newar Buddhist priests and Tibetan lamas practice healing even today using mainly tantric methods, those of mantra, meditation and mudra (the latter, gestures evocative of deities). Ayurveda is an integral part of the Vajrayanic healing tradition. The healing system of Ayurveda based on herbs and non-organic substances became highly developed in Tibet and was soon known as Tibetan medicine rather than Ayurveda in that country and abroad. Its ceremonial or tantric component with time had become divorced from its pharmacological to a great extent. Thus, one finds today in Nepal Tibetan practitioners who specialise only on ceremonial healing and others called Amchis, who are practitioners of Tibetan medicine.

Still another kind of Buddhist healer is the Tibetan shaman called Lhapa (or Pa-wo) in the case of males and Lhamo in that of females found amongst the Tibetan community in exile predominantly in Pokhara, and to a lesser extent, in Kathmandu. This may be linked with the fact that

shamans are more prevalent amongst the less prosperous of the two communities since in Pokhara there is a smaller minority of wealthy Tibetans as compared to Kathmandu. Thus, it would appear that the shamans have more cliets amongst the poorer people than amongst the rich and in fact, the only shaman who is prominent in Kathmandu is a female, Lhamo Dolkar, living in Boudha near the famous stupa. Even members of the Nepalese royal family are said to periodically consult this female medium for an important Tibetan Buddhist deity devoted to prophesy and healing, the Dorje Yudronma orace. The Tibetan shamans thus may be seen to have patients from all walks of life and nationalities, Tibetan and non-Tibetan alike, and Lhamo in particular, is often visited by foreigners either out of curiosity or as patients themselves. In Pokhara, with the exception of one older man by the name of Wangchuk, however, they seem less adept at the art than Lhamo since they are able to register considerably fewer successes in healing.

Both Wangchuk and Lhamo Dolkar are reputed to be able to cure both physical and complex psychosomatic or supernaturally-caused complaints. Their main healing technique is sucking, for which reason especially Lhamo is simply called the sucking person' by Tibetans. Lhamo, who is in trance, possessed by the goddess Dorje Yudronma when she heals, sucks any afflicted part of the body and has been known to bite a patient savagely, extracting in the process either a dark liquid or a dark, sticky substance. Both are considered physical manifestations of impurity and in the event of a more serious affliction, she may even extract stones, which are either white, brown or black. Particularly in the case of alcohol or drug addicts, she often berates the patient and displays the fierce side of the goddess' persona, especially since she must counter an equally socially and personally disruptive force in the form of the addiction. For this reason, her patients tend to tolerate her thumping and hitting them, either with her hands or with some implement like a phurba, a ritual dagger, though she never actually draws blood in the process. In case the symptoms are caused due to the harassment by a spirit or witch, she may prescribe a fire puja performed in her own house once a week, which, though somewhat costly, is thought to exorcise the afflicting agent.

The male shamans, the Lhapas, on the other hand, do not ordinarily suck the skin directly, but either keep a cloth between their mouths and the patient's body or employ horns or pipes to extract similar substances, though not in the huge quantities that Lhamo does. Wangchuk, as ostensibly the more empowered of these male shamans, almost always extracts some impure item from the patients' bodies and has registered considerable success in the extraction of kidney and gall bladder stones.

However, there seems to be a 'crisis of belief' in the Tibetan community in particular since many, especially westernised Tibetans, profess disbelief in this system of healing as they evidently prefer not to be associated with 'backward' segments of their own community. Interestingly enough, though, the Rinpoche or reincarnate lama at Hyanja Refugee camp just outside of Pokhara where Wangchuck resides, indicated that he himself has witnessed Wangchuk's skill at removing coins stuck in the throat of the young monks, using only tantric techniques.

The oldest Buddhist community in Nepal is arguably that of the Newars originally centred in the Kathmandu Valley, whose artistry and craftsmanship have accounted for most of the Valley's strikingly original culture. Though Newars are divided between Hindus and Buddhists, there is, however, no trace of antagonism between the two religions and even many instances of syncretism without either tradition, however, losing its distinctiveness. The Newars adopted Vajrayana Buddhism, a branch of Mahayana also practiced by Tibetans, which is highly esoteric and complex, and has also spawned a healing system. Interestingly enough, many scholars believe, following Sylvain Levy's lead, that the form of Buddhism practiced by the Newars may be evocative of that having existed in India prior to the Moghul invasions. If this is indeed the case, then it is possible to summarise that the form of ceremonial curing practiced by the Newar Buddhist priests corresponds to that which once existed in medieval India as well. In any event, in Nepal, one of its main characteristics is its secretive, tantric nature, and the fact that it espouses tantric rituals whose practice is restricted to the highest castes of the Newar Buddhist caste hierarchy. Tibetan Vajrayana Buddhism, in contrast, does not limit these practices to any particular social category.

Thus it should not come as a surprise that Newar Buddhist healers, who are simultaneously priests, should mostly hail from the highest Buddhist Newar caste of Vajracharya, though some are also members of the related, slightly lower caste of Shakyas. This category of healer is not a shaman in that they do not get possessed for the duration of healing, but can rather be thought of as 'permanently possessed' in the same way a Rinpoche is, by a spiritually advanced spirit or soul which voluntarily has incarnated itself in a human being. Therefore, as long as they maintain their priestly decorum, adhere to certain precepts like the recitation of healing and other tantric mantras, get empowerments through rituals dedicated to the Buddha and tantric deities (mostly goddesses, considered both perpetrators of and protectors from illness), they are thought able to cure any affliction, ranging from the spiritual to the mental and physical. These healers are simultaneously Ayurvedic physicians and astrologers, which is practical

from a patient's point of view since in that case they do not need to go to these other specialists, too. This particular combination of specialisations appears rational as disease causation is thought to derive as much from a phenomenon called graha dosa or conflicting planetary constellations, as it is from other sources, and Ayurvedic preparations often figure as part of the cure. So, for instance, rather than being asked to consult an astrologer, the astrological diagnosis and even the appropriate remedy is being performed by the same specialist. The process of healing has been designated as involving transsubstantiation, the sacralisation of base matter acting to facilitate healing. This process is based on a holistic approach to the human organism, in which the psyche and/or spirit is not considered divorced or separate from the physical body by any means, so that the main focal point of the healing enterprise is the realignment of disparate components, using the astrological paradigm, i.e., the realignment of planets.

The substance par excellence through which this process of transsubstantiation is thought to transpire is known as jal, or holy water, which itself has been so empowered through the healer-cum-priests' mantras which he blows on it to transform the ordinary water into the healing ambrosia. People believe that this jal, which is sprinkled on the patient and imbibed by the latter, acts as a general panacea, so that in the event that it fails to cure a specific affliction, it can at least, it is thought, propel them to a higher spiritual plane, if not a higher rebirth. Besides the ambrosia, the healer known as gubhaju or guruju (a term of respect for a priest), relies on a wide repertoire of healing substances and instruments. Ash, often taken from the cremation ground, may be given to propitiate the masan bhut or ghost from the cremation ground, thought of as pestering a patient. The main implements relied upon are the vajra or dorjee, the salient symbol of Vajrayana Buddhism normally used in religious rituals, but in this case, placed on a patient's head or swung around the latter. It is often coupled with the ghanta or bell, the female complement of the male vajra, evocative of the tantric belief in the importance of the male and female principles in effecting a realignment of the disparate parts of the psyche.

It is significant that, despite the sophistication of this form of healing employing the ritual implements of Vajrayana, nevertheless, the main technique relied upon actually derives from Nepalese hill shamanism. Known as jhar-phuk, sweeping and blowing', this technique employs a common reed broom or kuco, occasionally embellished with a peacock feather, to sweep away the negative forces and the healer's breath to blow on auspicious ones in the form of mantras. It is particularly the usage of the broom which is thought to derive from hill shamanism, for which reason, some high caste Newar healers refuse to employ it. Instead, they may

substitute a refined form of sucking, in which the air around the patient is inhaled and mantras are blown out or exhaled, resulting in a mild form of hyperventilation. The skin, though, is never directly touched by the healer and indeed, the patient may even be unaware of what exactly the healer is up to. There is also a propensity amongst Newar ceremonial healers to incorporate some allopathic methods of diagnosis and treatment, possibly to supplement the Ayurvedic ones employed, especially since Baidyas, or Ayurvedic practitioners today occasionally do the same. However, Tibetan Vajrayanic healers, for their part, eschew any such modern innovations, especially since their system is more monolithic and closed, as compared to that of the Newars who have, as indicated, been more open to integrating aspects of Hinduism in their social and religious system.

A fairly new category of Nepalese healer which rather appears to be growing in numbers, instead of diminishing (whereas the gubhaju-healer often belongs to an older generation, whose sons are reluctant to practice healing) and spans both the Hindu and Buddhist communities is that of the female medium for the goddess of healing, the Hariti. Though this vocation is open to anyone, both male and female, most are however, Newars and female, probably because their tutelage or patron deity, the Hariti, is also female and originated in a Newar milieu since her shrine is located up on Swayambhu Stupa. This deity has an interesting history since she was originally thought to be a Yaksha, a demon wont to devour children, until the populace appealed to the Buddha for help. He cleverly hid her youngest child under his begging bowl and when the Yaksha came wailing to him about the loss of her child, he admonished her saying, "You have caused so much untold suffering to other mothers, so you should receive some of the same suffering yourself." When she duly repented her misdeeds, the Buddha revealed her child to her and she thereupon fell at his feet and asked to be accepted as his devotee. The Buddha then promoted her to the rank of goddess, the Hariti, 'she who saves', and she became the protector of particularly children from disease. Therefore, it is perhaps not surprising that the Hariti has become the patron deity for mainly female healers in the Kathmandu valley. The Newar Buddhist male healers, for their part, often acknowledge the Kumari, or 'living goddess', as their patron deity and one can often find a colour poster of the present of Ice holder, a young girl, displayed in their healing rooms, or a mask of the Kumari as goddess.

This kind of female medium for the Hariti (or in this age, one of her children who aids her in curing), similarly to the Tibetan Lhamo, is only possessed for the duration of the healing session. The fact that she is, however, considered the actual embodiment of the deity during this period accounts for the fact that many people repose greater faith in her healing

abilities than they do in those of the gurus, especially since they feel that it is the goddess who is healing them directly. This is relevant particularly for cases of supernaturally caused afflictions, whereas the priestly healers are considered better at curing problems caused, for example, by the misalignment of planets or graha dosa. The female medium called deo-ma in Newari, the goddess-mother, has a limited repertoire of healing techniques centring mostly around jal, used liberally, and jhar-phik. Some of them, however, especially those trained by a guru also resort to the usage of the vajra. The deo-ma has probably become the most popular spiritual or tantric healer in Nepal today and possibly the most prominent deo-ma in the Valley is a high caste (Shakya) Newar Buddhist woman residing on Swayambhu Stupa, just in the vicinity of the Hariti shrine. She has been known to heal very grievous cases, in some instances even cancer patients, and has performed other miraculous healing feats of chiefly supernaturally caused afflictions which propelled her from 'rags to riches' in only a decade of healing. She has a following of numerous personal devotees, male and female, and one family has recently donated a large plot of land on the outskirts of Kathmandu, which the healer wishes to use to build an ashram. Evidently she has acquired somewhat of a cult following and treats all kinds of people, high and low class alike, offering patients coming from long distances who can not afford it otherwise, accommodation and food without charge. This, coupled with her propensity to undertake pilgrimages to both Hindu and Buddhist holy places and conduct pujas and prayer sessions there which all her devotees can participate in and reap the spiritual benefits of, undoubtedly serves to strengthen her healing shakti, or charisma.

Others practicing some form of Buddhist healing in Nepal predominantly include those ethnic groups practicing Tibetan Buddhism, the Thakali, Tamang, Sherpa and Yolmo, for example. Members of these groups, if they are lamas, practice Vajrayanic ceremonial healing as has been referred to, or shamanism with Buddhist overtones. However, in the latter case, it is not possible to state categorically that this is an instance of purely Buddhist healing. In fact, as researchers have shown, this form of healing may be grounded more in tribal or preliterate Hinduism than in Buddhism per se. Alternatively, as in the case of Yolmo shamanic healers, the admixture is also with Bon-po, the pre-Buddhist faith existing in Tibet prior to the advent of Buddhism.

In the area of healing, though, it must be averred that considerations of pragmatism often override those of the religion or culture per se. An individual healer may, in this connection, borrow the techniques from a healing tradition which is not, strictly speaking, his or her own. For example, in my own research, I came across a healer whose caste

background was that of Vajracharya, who had adopted a shamanic/Bon-po method of curing transmitted to him by a Tibetan lama. Similarly, there are some instances of both Vajracharya and Shakya males and females, who practice a form of healing which derives from Theravada Buddhism, possibly in consequence of the influence exerted by Newari Bhikshus, Theravada Buddhist monks, in the course of their missionary activities in Nepal. A very famous healer was, for example, Yog Ratna Vajracharya, who was a Theravada practitioner and cured through what he called 'Yog Siddhi', a tantric healing technique derived through meditation and austerities. Prominent amongst his followers were quite a few women who became known as powerful healers and employed this technique which consisted of concentrating one's mind and spiritually 'absorbing' the afflictions of others which the practitioner then neutralised through 'Yog Siddhi' themselves. It is interesting that, similarly to the Buddha himself who admonished his monks for using healing on a larger scale, especially as a form of gainful employment, with time, Yog Ratna also restricted his healing practice to only his close followers. This was despite the fact that he had become a well reputed healer who was often invited to the palace by the then Rana rulers and was known for miraculous healing feats which included the cure of the blind. In conclusion it seems fair to postulate that it is quite possible that in having espoused a different healing tradition to the one in which he was born, Yog Ratna derived more genuine healing charisma than he would otherwise have been able to. Thus in regard to healing, it is safe to summarise that occasionally the sky is the limit' and people will tend to practice whatever they personally feel inclined towards and what they feel is working for them and, by extension, for their patients, in preference to clinging to their own tradition.

On the patients' side, it would appear that the system of Buddhist healing tends to reinforce people's faith in religion. If it is possible to see tangible benefits from the religion in the form of being healed, it will obviously tend to strengthen people's faith in the Buddhist religion at the same time. Therefore, even though certain healing techniques may be controversial in some people's opinion, especially the more tantric ones involving exorcisms of supposed spirits, deities or witches thought to be possessing or pestering someone, the overall result has generally been found to be positive. Especially in this day and age in which the western, allopathic medical system has been found to be inadequate, particularly in the area of psychosomatic illness, other forms of healing may be able to supplement the conventional healing system. If these healing systems are, at the same time, grounded in a spiritual tradition like Buddhism, their success rate is seen to be significantly increased since the element of faith increases the

possibility of cure through a non-medical healing system. This can only be beneficial, especially for someone who has been suffering from non-allopathically treatable afflictions which are growing in modern times due to the increase in pollution, environmental degradation, the worsening of living conditions for the majority of the population, over-exploitation of natural resources and other ills afflicting modern man. Thus, the Buddha's adage that Buddhism is simultaneously a healing, plus a spiritual system, is being proven time and again.

REVIEW ARTICLE

FLAWED PRECEPTS AND DISTORTED INTERPRETATIONS

Dhruba Kumar

Environmental Resource Negotiation Between Unequal Powers by Jagadish C. Pokharel, New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1996, pp. xii+148, includes bibliography and index, Rs. 225 Indian Currency.

This book deserves a mention and a space in *Contributions* not because of its merits but it being a testimony to a gross negligence in research and reporting. This publication, according to the author, 'would have not been possible without the support of the East-West Center, Honolulu, Hawaii which provided me with a fellowship for eleven months to develop it from a [MIT] Ph. D. dissertation to a book' (p.xi). His studentship at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, USA is well reflected in his concise language and lucid writing style easily understandable even by a non-specialist reader, which, otherwise, is a subject of specialist interest.

The effort to build a conceptual framework on negotiation by particularly applying Roger Fisher's works on *Negotiating Power* in the book is commendable. Studies on negotiation from a weak nation's perspective and treatment of the subject with an attempt to understand strategies pursued by a weak nation in *enhancing negotiation power* are of considerable interest particularly in Nepal which has recently signed a series of agreements on sharing water resources with India, including the Mahakali Integrated Development Treaty, by 1996. The issue of environmental resources negotiation of which water resources constitute an integral part in the history of Nepal-India relations has been a mosaic of both discord and collaboration. Bunglings on the Kosi (1954) did not stop the Gandak (1959) from materializing. But the lessons learned from these crucial cases of initial collaboration have blocked the Karnali project (conceived in 1963) from taking off. Successful negotiations on the first two river systems, namely, the Kosi and Gandak, and the failure of negotiations on the Karnali project make up a case study in the book comprising two other case studies

Contributions to Nepalese Studies, Vol. 23, No. 2 (July 1996), 481-488.
Copyright © 1996 CNAS/TU

between the weak and the strong states, i.e., Bangladesh and India, and Panama and the United States.

Two of the above case studies relate to South Asia where India as a mega-state negotiates with Nepal as a lower-riparian, and Bangladesh as an upper-riparian country. In the first case, India asserts the right of a lower riparian by establishing its claim to an uninterrupted use of the natural flow of water resources. In the second case, India, however, denies the same right to the lower-riparian, Bangladesh, in the course of sharing the Farakka water. Indeed, these cases require further scrutiny in order to understand the process of negotiations for these being the cases of evoking nationalist sentiments wrapped up in the concerns for sovereignty and security, and the livelihood of a teaming millions. The intermingling of power, politics and technology in these cases have also imparted a considerable influence on the water resources sharing negotiations in the past. Perhaps the outcome of the ongoing negotiations in some of these cases may crucially determine the future of South Asian international relations. Resource conflicts are obviously being articulated as being perennial problems intricately linked with the population explosion and developmental needs of the region. Failure to manage these conflicts could lead to a devastating situation causing chronic socio-political instabilities in the region.

This review is primarily focused on the Nepal-India case which appears to be the subject of the main inquiry. According to the author, the other two cases are "actually" expanded and included during his fellowship stint in the East-West Center (p.xi). Hence, these cases will be cited when necessary. Pointedly, analyses of negotiations between Nepal and India are based on a weak theoretical construct that did not stand the test case on the use of *negotiating power* by Nepal with enhancing capability against the background of certain "serendipitous events". First, while seeking to explain how a weak nation could enhance *negotiating power* to influence the strong nation (p.1), the author has tried to build his case of renegotiations on Kosi and Gandak projects against the background of the political change in Nepal after the Royal takeover in December 1960, and the Sino-Indian war of 1962.

The political change in Nepal had significantly weakened the domestic scene because of serious challenges posed by democratic forces to the king's regime. India's reservations with the king's action had strained the bilateral relations. The intervening variable of the Sino-Indian war in October 1962 (remotely related to Nepal-India tensions) and the consequent debacle of India in the war is viewed by the author as the opening of "new opportunities" for Nepal in moderating the Indian position vis-a-vis Nepal. The underlying assumption in the thesis is not how a pair of weak and weakened nations

succeeded in resuming their previously existing ties through "give and take" by removing certain irritants from their normal relationships but how the fall out of the Chinese strategic ascendancy in South Asia was used by Nepal against India perhaps by fluttering the Red Flag. Though the China factor has introduced an element of caution in India's dealings with Nepal -this has reinforced the former's need to draw the latter even closer to its strategic ambit—causing moderation on certain insipidus cases like their disagreement over the Royal coup in Nepal and the compensation for the land used in Kosi and Gandak projects or even making them "excludable goods" would not be detrimental to New Delhi's national security interests.

Political strategies adopted by King Mahendra in the early 1960s, was indeed, confined to neutralize India against supporting the Nepali Congress Party's democratic cause inside the country. India's "middle way" course was neither for the monarchy nor against the democracy; the thrust of New Delhi's policy was to harmonize the interests of a overzealous monarchy with that of a fragile democracy, as was the case in 1950-51. Sensing a reluctance on the part of the monarchy to buy India's "good advice", New Delhi turned a blind eye on the Nepali Congress activities from its soils to the perceived detrimental effect on the direct rule of the monarchy. A diametrically different course in King Mahendra's strategy to ensure the survival of his regime emerged after the signing of the border accord along with an agreement for the construction of Kathmandu-Kodari Highway during his visit to China in October 1961, not in April 1962 as the author states. Signing of these accords by Nepal sensitive to the Indian security interests in a period of heightening Sino-Indian discord over their own border problems eventuated under the assumption that it would definitely increase Nepal's bargaining power vis-a-vis India to ensure New Delhi's acquiescence to the King's demand to stop supporting the Nepali Congress rebels and endorse the monarchic regime. India, however, did not bug to all these efforts made by Nepal to squarely support its position. Instead, India imposed the Raxaul blockade in September 1962 which coincided with the Bijaya Dashami festival sending the country reeling under an economic chaos.

In this context, the famous speech of the Chinese foreign minister Marshal Chen Yi on October 5 supporting the "Nepalese people", preceded by the Sino-Indian war in October 1962, was indeed a succour to the struggling regime in Nepal. And the war brought an unexpected dividends to Nepal: the Nepali Congress rebels unilaterally called off their "hit and run" fighting tactics inside Nepal from across the Indian borders. The need of a certain diplomatic understanding with Nepal on this issue also became an imperative to India. As the intangibility of the issues in India's security

interests was preordained, it provided the diplomatic assurances not to support the rebels to which India was previously ambivalent. But it refused to extradict the accused back to Nepal.

Apparently the easing of strains led to the Royal visit to India in 1963. The commitment that King Mahendra made then to India has been documented in the January 30, 1965 Arms Supply Accord signed by the then Royal Nepali Ambassador to India, Y.N. Khanal and the then Indian foreign secretary, Y.D. Gundevia. This secret agreement, formally disclosed in 1989, remains one of the irrevocable commitments Nepal had serially made by further constraining its diplomatic capability. Had Nepal been in a position to enhance its negotiating power after India's debacle against China in the 1962 war, King Mahendra would have never thought it necessary to agree to sign the 1965 accord secretly and reinforce the July 1950 treaty which he had endeavoured to clip since his accession to power in 1955. Evidently, King Mahendra's only "vital interest" then was to ensure the continuity of his regime for which he was prepared to sacrifice the national stakes to the extent of the weakening of Nepal's negotiating power vis-a-vis India in the future. Thus, the relative priority for king Mahendra was India's support for his incipient Panchayat regime. Conversely, for India the priority was to avert any possible defection of Nepal from its traditional security fold. Compatibility was struck on the point, and the outcome, in the long-run, turned to India's favour.

China has always been a factor in India's regional strategic equation since the British Imperial period. Nepal's geostrategic situation has traditionally been a strategic and political-economic concern for India. This concern requires a change in tactics but not in policy making vis-a-vis the Himalayan Kingdom in the period following the 1962 war. As India's security interests were more articulated in comparison to its concern for domestic politics in Nepal, a tactical repositioning of its policy was an imperative. These changed tactics appeased the monarchy in Nepal as the "philosopher King", conceded some grounds on the intangible aspects of their mutual interests motivated by the need of relaxing the Nepal-India tensions. In some Nepali policy making circles, India's gesture of support to the monarchy had led to the impression of New Delhi's weakness vis-a-vis Nepal's use of China card. But the promises about trade concessions, access to more facilities in the use of Calcutta port, agreeing to renegotiate the Kosi and Gandak project along with the renewed commitment to resolve the long-standing Nepali grievances on these issues were all measured *salami tactics* used to continuously involve Nepal in the cooperative undertakings to retain its pervasive influence in the country. From the standpoint of engaging relationship, the renegotiations on the Kosi and

Gandak projects are precisely the cases of Nepal's adaptive acquiescence rather than the result of enhanced negotiating power caused by the China factor in their relationships.

The author has conveyed the impression that King Mahendra had successfully derived concessions from India while renegotiating on the Kosi and Gandak projects. By his own account, this was, however, not the case on the Karnali project. Had Nepal been able to expand and enhance its negotiating capability and India was cosyng up because of its weakness in view of the Chinese threat after 1962, New Delhi would surely have given in to the Nepali position in the 1960s and agreed to implement the Karnali project with a consensual agreement. Why had India dragged its feet and still is against the provision of Nepal's rightful control over the project tells a different story. On the Karnali issue, Nepal has always tried to play safe, hence negotiations stalled. Yet dissatisfaction remains on the former two as examples of unfair settlement, even though these projects were renegotiated in the mid-1960s.

On tangible issues relative to Indian interests, New Delhi has nowhere compromised and given up its position to cater to Nepal's friendship. It has rather obstructed Nepal's efforts to built large scale irrigation projects or even simple diversion inside Nepal by invoking the lower-riparian rights. India's objections have completely blocked international assistance for implementing irrigation schemes in Nepal. Even the development of inland navigation along the Kosi, Gandak and Karnali rivers which does not involve consumptive use of water has not been supported by India.

The author has cited Keohane and Nye when describing the weak states as "those whose crucial policies are influenced by other countries but do not themselves exert influence over other countries" (p.7) to make up the psychology of fear pervasive in a country like Nepal. Conversely, he should have also cited Keohane's *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy* (1984) to illustrate the psychology of a strong state, in this case, India vis-a-vis Nepal, who is determined to retain (1) control over raw materials, (2) control over source of capital, (3) control over market, and (4) competitive advantage in the production of highly valued goods. The author who lives in Nepal must be aware of the application of these criteria by India while concluding treaties on water resources sharing with Nepal recently.

Second, in the course of discussion, the author has implied (p. 40) that Nepal's successful trade diversification policies have resulted into a decrease in its commercial and economic dependency upon India and "relative power balance had changed in Nepal's favour" by 1989 (p. 63). A decline in Nepal's imports from India to only 34 percent is inferred as a decline in

dependency and conversely enhancing Nepal's independence and negotiating power. Sadly, his premise misses the analytical rigour. Percentagewise, trade dependency on India has indeed declined. But dependency both on real value terms and imports of daily necessity, however, has tremendously increased exposing Nepal to further vulnerability. Even a cursory glance at the figures of Nepal's trade deficit with India reveals this reality. In the FY 1980/81, Nepal's trade deficit with India was Rs. 1186.6 million that reached Rs. 3028 million in 1987/88. In 1988/89, trade deficit increased to Rs. 3203.8 million, even though 1989 was the year of India's economic blockade. The point is that statistical figures in percentage does not accord well with the actual ground reality. The deficit figures show Nepal's dependency in real terms has been increasing rather than decreasing. Increased dependency has become a major impediment in *enhancing negotiating power* which was subsequently displayed by the political as well as economic chaos created by the Indian economic blockade leading to a political change in Nepal in April 1990. This reality did not support the author's contention of a changed "relative power balance" to sustain Nepal's position. Sadly, the author has tried to apply the theoretical premises without a sustained research on a diametrically different historical context, thus, distorting the hard evidence with unsustainable data.

The author could have corrected his lapses had he ever thought about updating/revising the study published seven years after the dissertation was completed, in 1989 (p. 35). Also the author made a serious blunder while trying to apply Fisher's model by ignoring his warning that "making threat is not enough" in enhancing negotiating power; improving negotiating power is rather a complex matter than simply a "blackmail". The author, as majority of the top policy makers in Nepal even during the trade and transit impasse with India in 1989, believed that Nepal's incipient threat to turn to China, would considerably strengthen the country's negotiating power. But in reality, it was not so. This crucial gap in this publication remains inexplicable in view of the publicly available material on Nepal-India negotiations and the author's professionalism.

Perhaps the author is convinced about the flawlessness of his work. Otherwise he would have surely cared to look at the manuscript before publication, corrected some glaring mistakes, and saved himself from being liable to diluting the contents of his own work. Obviously, the dissertation he wrote was a "partial fulfilment" for the degree, as is the usual convention in American universities. While earning the degree, what matters is the structure of the text, and the factual mistakes remain in the absence of verification either by the examiner or by the student producing the work. And the MIT, for all its merits and fame, is remotely related to South Asian

Studies, and particularly, the Nepalese studies. Scholars engaged in the Nepalese studies in American universities are a rarity, unfortunately the country hardly figures in the course of studies in the US academic institutions. Hence the writer *or student must* be more informed of the facts and figures he plays with. More so when the author happens to be native to the subject of study. A Nepali author who writes that Nepal to be declared a "Zone of Peace" was announced by King Birendra in 1976 during his state visit to China (p. 51), adds little credibility to the person's knowledge of the political development in Nepal and the subject he treats.

Similarly, he is factually incorrect when he says, (i) communist China asserted its right over Tibet in 1949, (ii) King Tribhuvan fled to India in 1949, and (iii) Rana oligarchy was removed from power in 1949, and (iv) King Mahendra visited China in April 1962 to sign Kathmandu-Lhasa Agreement. Also he pays scant attention to the political events in India. His narration becomes more incongruent when he writes that Indira Gandhi went out of power in 1975 and came back to power in the 1977. On the other hand, he details the negotiations commencing between India and Bangladesh during the Janata Party regime in 1977 (pp. 90-91). Besides this, the book is marred with several factual errors, which I feel, are a product of his gross negligence rather than ignorance.

In fact, political change occurred in Nepal in 1951 with the demise of the Rana regime through democratic movement. King Birendra officially declared Nepal to be made a "Zone of Peace" in the farewell speech during his coronation in February 1975. Mrs. Gandhi imposed Emergency in 1975 and was subsequently deposed from power in 1977 national elections. She returned to power only in 1980 which the author has also mentioned in p. 92. Similarly, the author's ignorance of the actual context of Nepal-India relations is further disclosed by his statement that Nepal has been using the Calcutta port "under a perpetual agreement" (see note 51, p. 75). In reality, India allows Nepal to use Calcutta port only with periodical renewal of the Trade and Transit treaties. If the author did not have a simple sense or even care to look at the available treaty documents his country has negotiated and signed with India but tends to make a definitive statement on the issue, one can only express pity on the intrinsic weakness of his research ability after the results are made public in the shape of a book.

On two other case studies, Bangladesh and India, and Panama and the United States, the author could have certainly derived insights on the issues involved had he ever glanced at the works of Verghese (*Water of Hope*, 1990) and Ben Crow, et. al. (*Sharing the Ganges*, 1995), among others, to analyze the intricacies of water politics in South Asia. As well, he could have easily consulted some issues of the journals, *International*

Organization (a MIT publication) and *International Negotiation* (New York), if not the other publications of some of the distinguished American scholars associated with the Harvard Law School and the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced Studies for a considerable understanding of the Panama issue and the theoretical perspectives on negotiations. To the amusement of this reviewer, the author did not feel it necessary even to scan the memoirs of Carter and Brzezinski who were architects of the Panama canal accords and the senate ratification in 1977. The author's use of Roger Fisher's *Negotiating Power* to analyze his case studies is perhaps a good beginning in understanding the South Asian negotiation processes. But the application of certain theoretical formulations would be of value only if the history of the case is correctly understood and the context as well as the sequence of actual events occurring are not notoriously distorted. Still, *Kudos* to the MIT for conferring the degree and the student for earning it.

References

- Brzezinski, Z., *Power and Principle* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1983).
- Carter, J., *Keeping Faith* (New York: Bantam Books, 1982).
- Crow, B., et. al., *Sharing the Ganges* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1995).
- Fisher, R., "Negotiating Power: Getting and Using Influence", in J. William Breslin and Jeffrey Z. Rubin, eds., *Negotiation Theory and Practice* (Cambridge, MA: Program on Negotiation at Harvard Law School, 1991).
- Fisher, R., "The Structure of Negotiation: An Alternative Model," *Negotiation Journal*, 2 (1986).
- Keohane, R.O., "Reciprocity in International Relations," *International Organization*, 1 (1986).
- Verghese, B.G., *Waters of Hope* (New Delhi: Oxford and IBH Publishing Co. 1990).

REVIEW ARTICLE

A Dictionary of Contemporary Newari: Newari—English, compiled by Ulrike Kölver and Iswarananda Shresthacharya with the assistance of Daya Ratna Sakya and Nirmal Man Tuladhar [Nepalica 8 (series editors, Bernhard Kölver and Siegfried Lienhard)] Bonn: Vereinigung für Geschichtswissenschaft Hochasiens—Wissenschaftsverlag GmbH, 1994, xx, pp. 341.

E. Austin Hale

Kölver-Shresthacharya (henceforth KS) is a major new resource for English speakers who wish to study Newari. It joins a very small set of previous works: Hans Jørgensen (1941) for classical Newari; Gutschow, Kölver and Shresthacharya (1987) for architectural terms, and Manandhar and Vergatti (1986 henceforth MV) in addition to a number of shorter works. For those already versed in Newari there are also Pannaprasād Joshi (1995) and Satya Mohan Joshi (1986), the latter of which lists forms I fail to find anywhere else.

For the English speakers who wish to come to some understanding of present-day Newari either in spoken or written form, the appearance of Kölver and Shresthacharya's *A Dictionary of Contemporary Newari, Newari - English*, is a most welcome event in the history of Newari lexicography. It is a large and beautiful volume, well bound on good paper, exquisitely edited and printed. Its form of entry is exemplary, making use of both Devanagari key words and their roman transliterations sorted in a admirably consistent implementation of Devanagari order. The English glosses are concise and helpful. This volume was clearly a labour of love. Anything that I shall say by way of criticism or complaint should be taken as minor in comparison with my overriding gratitude to the compilers for this magnificent volume.

Shortly after I agreed to write this review, Professor T. R. Kansakar published his review of this volume. As a mother-tongue speaker of Newari, a competent linguist and experienced translator, Professor Kansakar is in a better position than I to judge how well the dictionary handles Newari semantics and usage. The one advantage I may have in reviewing

such a volume is that I have a greater need for such a dictionary than he does. For the past year I have made daily use of this volume, and it is my experience in using this dictionary that forms the basis for this review.

For the English speaker there is one other general dictionary of the contemporary language currently in print that must be mentioned: Manandhar and Vergati, 1986. The appearance of that work was also a major watershed for Newari lexicography, and my gratitude for that volume has not diminished in the decade that I have had the use of it. For convenience I shall refer to Manandhar and Vergati as (MV) and to the volume under review as (KS). Both dictionaries are substantial. Counting both main entries and subentries (MV) has nearly 14,000 lexical items and (KS) has over 18,000.

Since about 1968 I have been wishing for a dictionary that would serve as a reader's companion for Newari. For a few years I had the privilege of working with Thakurlal Manandhar, Ishwarananda Shresthacarya, Nirmal Man Tuladhar and others in the attempt to collect basic vocabulary used in published works that were judged to be good Newari. The collaboration with Ishwarananda and Nirmal Man resulted in the appearance of the volume entitled *Jyapu Vocabulary*, which was essentially a glossary on a series of oral accounts taken on tape from speakers of Nagām. The collaboration with Thakurlal resulted in a single-spaced typescript which filled four six by nine inch loose-leaf binders. Included were vocabulary items I had encountered in reading and in my efforts to come to an understanding of the phonology, morphology and grammar of the language. I shared this collection with various interested scholars and upon my departure from Nepal in 1976 I left a copy with Thakurlal to polish and publish, since I assumed that I would not be returning. It was Professor A. W. MacDonald who arranged (I think in 1976) to have Dr. Anne Vergati edit the collection I had left with Thakurlal and prepare it for publication. From that point my only contribution to the volume was the user's guide that appeared as one item of front matter. My original loose-leaf collection served me well as reader's companion from 1976 to 1986, when (MV) first appeared in print. Even though the nemesis of South Asian printing left us with numerous typographic infelicities on every page, I rarely was forced back to my original typescript. The redundancies built into the form of entry were sufficient to make it possible for me to make use of the dictionary without great frustration. I am deeply grateful to Thakurlal and Dr. Vergati for carrying this publication through to completion.

Before the publication of (KS), the first dictionary I consulted when reading Newari was (MV). Many of the words that are used in Newari text

do not manage to get included in a Newari dictionary. NIA vocabulary is thought to be adequately dealt with by dictionaries for the donor languages. I suspect that any scholar who holds this opinion knows some NIA language well enough to have little occasion to test that opinion against Newari text. In my experience, glosses that are apparently correct for the donor language do not always fit once the lexical item is a loan word in Newari. Although my language consultants kept telling me that the words I had trouble finding were Sanskrit, the Sanskrit dictionaries I had access to brought me very little help and even Nepali dictionaries often failed to help (I was working with things judged to be ordinary Newari, not with learned treatises, or news items.) After some years of frustration I discovered Meenakshi, which then replaced Turner as the first place to look when (MV) failed me. The Oxford Hindi-English and the Allied Chambers Hindi English and Bhargava's Hindi-English seem to be equivalent to Meenakshi for my purposes.

When (KS) first appeared I was hoping that it would replace (MV) for my purposes. A reading of the introduction, however, warned me that the compilation was not intended as a convenience for readers like me, but that it sought primarily to reflect the spoken Newari of Kathmandu and vicinity with major emphasis upon lexemes preserved in the traditional domains of Newari culture. It did not attempt to cover any well-defined written corpus of materials. Loans from Nepali and other NIA donor languages are included (1) where they are the only way of referring to items of everyday use (i.e. where there is no indigenous Newari term referring to the same item), (2) where they are the primary terms for common elementary notions of religious and social life, and (3) where they have undergone phonological or morphological change in the process of being assimilated to Newari.

Neologisms have been included to the extent that they could be captured. Expressive vocabulary have been included as variants where possible. Since the goal of this dictionary is to include that part of the vocabulary of Newars that reflects everyday spoken language, traditional domains of Newar culture and phonologically and morphologically assimilated loans, rather than every lexical item that a reader might wish to look up in the process of reading what Newars write in their language, one is not entitled to judge this dictionary in the way one would naturally judge a general dictionary of a major language. As I see it, a general dictionary should be accountable to the published literature in the language, and helping the reader come to terms with this literature should be a central concern. Here the accountability is primarily to the spoken vocabulary of the Jyāpus, the traditional craftsmen and the keepers of the corporate Newar cultural

heritage, an accountability that few outside reviewers are in a position to evaluate.

After a year of reading and consulting this dictionary on a daily basis, however, I can say that it does perhaps better on the materials I was reading than I had any right to expect. For what I would think of as core Newar vocabulary I detected very few missing items. (I would, for example have thought that वाँ छवये 'to throw away' should have been included, but then I don't find it in (MV) either.) As far as its function as a reader's companion is concerned, (KS) is firmly established as the first place I look for help. (MV) is still useful, however, where written Newari transgresses the boundaries that (KS) has set for itself. Where this fails I next try Meenakshi or its equivalent, and if all else fails I go to Turner or equivalent for help. This reflects my experience of the relative helpfulness of these various sources, given the kinds of things I have been reading.

Spelling

The spelling, both in Devanagari and its romanization reflects its pronunciation by Newars rather than traditional spellings or those of donor languages. Where a lexeme has been remodelled morphologically in the process of borrowing, priority has been given to the Newar forms rather than to those of the source language. No attempt has been made to speculate on the etymology of loans.

The Devanagri spelling system is different from that employed in what I have been reading. The fact that (KS) consistently represents the phonology is a great help to me, since I am well acquainted with the phonology and thus I can go from the written form of an item in text to its pronunciation, and then back to the representations in (KS) without difficulty. I expect that some readers will have more difficulty in this than I have.

Pronunciation

No systematic articulatory account of the phonology is given and no direct representation of pronunciation is given in IPA or any equivalent phonological transcription. The primary representation of the lexical item is given in Devanagri and the Roman transliteration is based upon it. This makes the dictionary look superficially like one that deals primarily with the written language. There is good discussion of spelling conventions. What is missing is an account of pronunciation that is accessible to someone without the assumed background. Of course, for those who will be using the volume along with other sources and with a native speaker of Newari, this gap may hardly be noticed.

(KS) state that "... in transcriptions ... we have strictly adhered to the principle of transliteration according to the conventions commonly in use for Sanskrit and New Indo-Aryan." (1994:x) I would have found an explicit statement of these conventions helpful.

A dictionary that focuses explicitly upon the spoken form of the language, yet offers help with pronunciation only in terms of the Devanagari and its roman transliteration may prove frustrating to some students of the language. In addition to a traditional tabular representation of Devanagari order (which is lacking both in (KS) and in (MV)) a table of common phonological equivalencies would have been some help even if a phonological transcription of each lexical item were not feasible. It would have been helpful for some users to be told, for example, that the symbol "v" in transliteration represents a voiced bilabial semivowel [w] and not a voiced labio-dental fricative [v], and that "ay" in transliteration represents a mid open unrounded vowel [ɛ:] and not a diphthong. I personally do not find this lack a serious problem because I have struggled long enough with Newari phonology to have multiple mappings of sound to symbol and symbol to sound in my head that enable me eventually to track down most any entry I may be looking for. I have also committed enough representational sins in the transcription of Newari to prevent me from sitting in judgement upon anyone else's transcription, so long as it is internally consistent, which the transcription of (KS) most certainly is.

On the other hand, the major use that I personally make of any Roman representation of Devanagari is to determine where the unwritten vowel in Devanagari is actually pronounced and where it is not. A strictly mechanical transliteration is of no use to me at this point since the halant is so seldom used for this purpose. The practice of (CS) in this respect is much appreciated. Thus आचार comes out "ācār" and not as the mechanical transliteration "ācāra" which would reflect the Devanagari spelling but not its pronunciation.

Alphabetical Order

The use of Devanagari spelling as a phonological representation of spoken Newari has implications for alphabetical order which are implemented in a way that this reviewer has found logical and convenient. As (KS) points out, the fact that Newar low vowels contrast for quality ([ɔ] vs [a]) as well as for length ([ɔ:] vs [ə]) and la: vs [a]) places two principles of traditional Devanagari order in conflict. The two low vowel symbols (अ and आ) are employed to represent the quality contrast and visarga (:) is employed to represent the length contrasts. The general rule is that short vowels precede

long ones in alphabetical order, but with length being represented by visarga, which follows the vowels and precedes the consonants, word non-final long low vowels will precede their short counterparts (as happens in MV) if the traditional order of visarga is allowed to prevail. (KS) have opted to give priority to the principle that short vowel precedes long, and to achieve this visarga was moved to the end of the alphabet. I have found this quite a user-friendly solution.

Diphthongs (ai au, āi, āu) are all represented with digraphs. I found the impact of this upon alphabetic order easy to get used to.

Sequence of Entries

Compounds or derivatives are not grouped under the first morpheme, but are entered in alphabetical sequence. I found this practice quite helpful. It reduces the number of places one is obliged to look while in the process of finding the entry one is after. The alternative practice places much greater demands upon the user in that one must know a good deal more about the morphological segmentation of the word at hand and the derivational patterns of the language just to find the appropriate entry.

Structure of Entries

In (KS) an entry may have twelve different kinds of information, of which I shall comment on six.

1. Entry in Devanagri. Verbs are entered in their infinitival form; nouns in the absolutive or unmarked form. Adjectives appear without attributive suffixes. Optional reduplication that does not affect the meaning of the item is enclosed in parentheses and is ignored for the purposes of sorting order. In practice reduplicated forms are fairly rare within the dictionary. Listing all possible reduplications in every entry is clearly not feasible since several of the reduplicative patterns are highly productive. This would be like listing all the regular causative formations as separate entries. It would add bulk but not functionality.

Since Iswarananda has published accounts of the reduplication patterns in Newari I had expected reduplication to be well covered. I was disappointed to see no mention of these accounts in the bibliography. I wondered how much of this would be made accessible to the user. Reduplication is certainly not just a literary device restricted to written Newari. To get an idea of whether or not the treatment of reduplication would make any difference to a reader or not I went through one short text, (Prem Bahadur Kansakar's

Dhōmcholecā) and found 28 instances of reduplication involving 23 different tokens. Eight were identical reduplications

Sāh-sāh 'tasty-Rdp'; *bhīm-bhīm* 'good-Rdp';...

Eight involved the addition of nasality or the lengthening of a nasal in the second member

dhā-dhām 'say-Rdp'; *kho-khom* 'weep-Rdp';...

The remaining seven involved a more highly modified second member

lākā-likā 'get-Rdp'; *khāpā-khipā* 'door-Rdp'; *jā-ji* 'rice-Rdp';

dakko-dikko 'all that there were-Rdp'; *mha-mhi* 'body-Rdp';

naye-nī 'eat-Rdp'; *chucum-chācum* 'wheat flour-Rdp'

While all three cases should be dealt with in a grammar, I would think that it could be quite helpful to a reader to be informed by the dictionary of reduplications involving modified second members. Although the patterns involved are relatively few in number, it does not seem possible for a non-mother-tongue speaker to predict which pattern a given word will take in every case. As it turned out I did not succeed in finding any of these patterns listed in the entries concerned.

One convention was used, a vertical bar, which may be familiar to those more learned than I for which I was unable to find an explanation. It seems to appear between stems in entries for compounds. Associated with this was another convention for which I failed to find an explanation: a superscript circle which seems to mark a subentry as morpheme bound to the form listed as main entry.

2. Romanized Transliteration. This is a helpful supplement to the Devanagari main entry as a guide to pronunciation. The Devanagari forms do not use halant to indicate when the unwritten vowel is not pronounced, but fortunately the transliteration fills this gap.

3. Variant Forms. Variant forms are not only listed in the entry, a main entry that contains a variant form is also cross-referenced from an abbreviated entry for the variant form which is alphabetized at the appropriate point in the main listing. The incidence of variants in Newari is high, consequently this is a very important feature. In the first 61 pages I counted 1932 main entries and 344 cross-reference entries. If this sample is representative, something like 15% of all entries are cross-references. Paradoxically, the more useful this really helpful feature proves, the more

frustrated the user may be tempted to feel at being redirected from a cross-reference to a main entry.

4. Abbreviation of Word Category. The elaboration of the part of speech, noun, into the three subcategories, (inanimate) noun (n.), animate noun (n.anim.) and honorific noun (n.hon.) is a very useful one, indicating in a consistent and concise way what plural affixation, and what set of case affixes are appropriate. The transitive-intransitive distinction used in subcategorizing verbs is useful but I would like to have seen a more detailed classification such as could have been done on the basis of U. Kölver (1976). Eventually a classification of Newari verbs according to the kinds of insights David Hargreaves is giving us would be a very valuable thing to incorporate into such a dictionary.

5. Nouns: Oblique Forms and Classifiers. Nouns are cited in their nominative or unmarked forms. Newar nouns in this form generally end in open syllables. Stem-final consonants that have been lost in word-final position often reappear before case suffixes. Anyone who does interlinear glosses using underlying forms will appreciate being able to look up the lost finals. Thus under *bhvay* 'feast' one finds the oblique form, *bhvaja-*. Unfortunately for the reader who finds the form, *bhvajay*, 'at the feast' in running text, there is no cross-reference entry for *bhvaja-* to guide him to the main entry which lists the form he needs. The actual number of noun stems with lost finals in word-final position is actually not so large as to have make this kind of cross reference impractical. For learners it would be helpful, especially given the lack of introductory material on morphology and syntax included in the volume.

Newar nouns also have classifiers that are used with numerals that quantify the noun head. Animate nouns all quantify with the animate classifier, *-mha*, and thus the part of speech designation 'n.anim.' or 'n.hon.' suffices. In these classes the classifier is not given. Inanimate nouns quantify with a variety of classifiers, some of which reflect the shape of the noun head, some of which are reduplications of part of the noun head, some of which are unique and so on. Thus the noun, *chem* 'house' is quantified with a unique classifier, *-khā*, which is listed not only in the entry for *chem*, but also as an entirely separate entry. One who finds the form, *chem nikhā*, will need to know how to break the numeral classifier construction in order to look it up.

Classifiers and oblique forms appear to be more consistently given for subentries involving compounds than I would have expected given the

treatment of diagnostic forms for verbs in subentries. Still, quite a bit is expected of the user so far as his or her understanding of Newari noun morphology and syntax is involved.

6. Verbs. Verbs are cited in their infinitive forms. In order to conjugate the verb one needs to know the verb class (determined by the stem-final consonant) and subclass (determined by the vowel of the stem-final syllable). The infinitive form itself suffices as a diagnostic form for the subclass to which a verb belongs. Verbs with stem-final *n* in the infinitive belong to class 1. Verbs with stem-final *l* in the infinitive belong to class 4. Verbs with stem-final stops *p*, *t*, or *k* belong to class 5. The problem comes with verbs of classes 2 and 3, both of which have stem-final *y* in the infinitive, and both of which have stem-final alternations that do not show in the infinitive form. When glossing interlinear text using underlying forms I need this information, and I have been disappointed frequently by not finding it, especially in subentries.

The remaining six kinds of information I list for information without comment, other than that I have found each of them useful and well done:

7. Dialect, Sociolect, and Stylistic Restrictions
8. English Gloss
9. Illustrative Phrases and Sentences
10. Homonym Cross Reference
11. Compounds, Synonyms, and Antonyms
12. Subentries

Nothing that I have said in this review, however, should detract from the fact that (KS) is now the standard against which other Newari-English dictionaries must be judged. I wish it contained a larger proportion of the words I must look up when reading text, but that is my problem. The compilers have been very clear about the limits of their domain and have done an excellent job,

References

- Hargreaves, David J. 1991. *The Concept of Inflectional Action in the Grammar of Lhamdu Newari*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Oregon, Eugene.
- Jørgensen, Hans. 1936. *A Dictionary of the Classical Newari*. (Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes selskab. Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser 23.1) København: Levin & Munksgaard.

- Jośi, Vaidya Pannaprasād. 1955. *Samkṣipta Nepāl bhāṣā śabdakośa* (Nepāl bhāṣā Nepālī artha) [Newari-Nepali dictionary] (Kathmandu: Nepal Press, 122 Asan Tyauda Tol).
- Joshi, Satya Mohan. 1986. *Baḥcādhāṃgu nevāḥ khamgvaḥ dhukū gu ne;v khamgva dhuku*, A Concise Dictionary of e Newar Language. Kathmandu: Lacaal Publications.
- Kölver, Ulrike. 1976. *Satztypen und Verbsubkategorisierung der Newari* (Structra, Schriftenreihe zur Linguistik, Band 10) (München: Willhelm Fink Verlag).
- Manandhar, Thakurlal. 1986. *New-Engllsh Dictionary: Modern Language of Kathmandu Valley*. ed. by A. Vergati, Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan.
- Shresthacarya, Iswaranand, and Nimlal Man Tuladhar. 1976. *Jyapu Vocabulary (Preliminary Report)*. Kathmandu: Istitute of Nepal and Asian Studies.